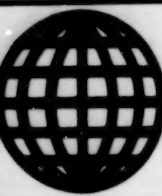


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JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-89-007

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Goals of Nationalist Movement Outlined
46050012 Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 9-10 Nov 88

[9 Nov 88 p 4]

[Excerpt] Armenian reporters who visited Armenia recently had an interview with Hovik Vasilyan, the editor of HAY DAT which is the press organ of the "Association for the Defense of the Armenian Cause," an unofficial organization recently established in Armenia.

We present the text of that interview in our today's and tomorrow's issues. The interview sheds light on the goals and activities of the said organization and highlights some of the current issues that concern the entire Armenian nation.

[Reporter] The journal HAY DAT, the press organ of the "Association for the Defense of the Armenian Cause" [ADAC], began to be published in Armenia recently. Could you give some information about this newly-created organization and its press organ?

[Vasilyan] ADAC was not born out of a vacuum. If we look back far enough, its roots go back to the 1960's. In other words, the basis of ADAC is the national movement which took birth in the early 1960's, which survived to these days and which was reorganized as the "Association for the Defense of the Armenian Cause" following the start of Gorbachev's democratization process. ADAC's primary goal is to unify the Armenian territories within the USSR—that is the territories which have been historically part of Armenia and which are inhabited by Armenians today. In particular, we have in mind the Mountainous- [Nagorno] Karabakh, the Plains-Karabakh, Nakhijevan and Javagh. That is the goal of ADAC within the Soviet Union. In the future, of course, ADAC will also fight for the return of the provinces of Surmalu, Kars and Erzurum [in Turkey] to Armenia. But this is a distant goal; it is not very realistic to talk about that at this time.

A concurrent goal of ADAC is to contribute to the development of national awareness in Armenia and the rebirth of a sense of national belonging to overcome the effects of 70 years of propaganda on world citizenship. We want the Armenian people to regain their sense of national belonging.

Another goal is the establishment of the Armenian language as the official language of Soviet Armenia. Although the Constitution provides for that it remains only on paper. Today, Russian is used in all official institutions and enterprises of Armenia with the exception of a few purely cultural institutions. The de facto official language is Russian. We oppose that and we will work to make Armenian truly the official language.

ADAC will also work to secure land in Armenia for Armenians dispersed across the USSR. A substantial portion of Armenians in Armenia and Transcaucasia have emigrated to various parts of the Soviet Union, such as Central Asia, northern Caucasus, the Black Sea coast, Georgia, Moscow, Leningrad and elsewhere. Those people must have a place to live, and have a job and security in order to return. That could be possible after the reunification of Armenian territories within the Soviet Union.

Another major goal of ADAC is to win the recognition of the 1915 genocide. To this day, the Soviet Union has not officially recognized the 1915 genocide. We intend to demand from the Soviet government to recognize the genocide and to seek similar recognition from other countries.

[Reporter] What steps have you taken to accomplish these goals?

[Vasilyan] In order to accomplish these goals we established the journal HAY DAT from the day ADAC was formed. The journal is published every 2 months. We do not have the resources to publish it more frequently because both the physical and the financial means of ADAC are limited. The journal is funded with the dues paid by members of ADAC.

[Reporter] What is the attitude of Soviet authorities with regard to ADAC?

[Vasilyan] From the first day ADAC was established, on 10 December 1987, we applied officially to the Armenian Supreme Soviet and asked them to recognize ADAC as a public organization operating within the bounds of constitutional rights. The Armenian Supreme Soviet gave us neither a favorable nor an unfavorable reply. They are still thinking about this issue; they have been thinking for 11 months. So far they have not responded in any way. [passage omitted]

[10 Nov 88 p 4]

[Excerpt] [Reporter] What is Baruyr Ayrikyan's relationship with the Karabakh movement?

[Vasilyan] Baruyr Ayrikyan called for the secession of Armenia [from the Soviet Union] with sermons about Armenian independence. Independence is a concept that is the dream of every nation. But it is wrong to call for independence at a time when the Armenian nation does not have the means or the strength to survive alone and on its own.

We have known Baruyr Ayrikyan for a long time. He is quite an intelligent man; he is not stupid. So he knows what he is doing. Proposing to the Armenian people secession from the Soviet Union to establish an independent Armenian state with Turkey as a "neighbor" thus

creating hostility also with the Russians... Calling for independence under those conditions means dragging Armenia knowingly to total annihilation.

It is sad that many young people who are fooled by the seemingly very appealing and patriotic nature of these slogans are following him. These young people are very noble and patriotic, but Baruyr Ayrikyan is not. If he were noble he would understand what it means to separate Armenia from Russia in today's conditions.

I am convinced that if the likes of Baruyr Ayrikyan succeed today, the Armenian nation would not live to see the 21st century.

We will do everything we can to explain to the Armenian people the present state of affairs and to tell them that preserving the current situation, that is remaining in the existing vast empire, is advantageous to the Armenian people and that it is the only possible and realistic option for survival. [passage omitted]

Dashnak Party Members Meet Austrian Socialists

46050011 Beirut AZTAG in Armenian 20 Oct 88 p 1

[Text] A previously scheduled political meeting was held in Vienna on October 18 between the representatives of the supreme council of the Socialist Party of Austria and the Bureau of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation [Dashnak].

The Socialist Party of Austria was represented at the meeting by Peter Jankovich.

The agenda of the meeting was:

- 1. Examination of areas and prospects of cooperation between the two parties.
- 2. Discussion of the Armenian Cause and the Karabakh movement in that framework.
- 3. Prospects and areas of cooperation within the Socialist International.
- 4. Focusing of views on international, political and social issues, in particular with relation to national liberation struggles and the positive stance of the Socialist Party of Austria to reinstate the course set by Bruno Kreisky with respect to that issue.

REGIONAL

Arab World Attempts To Deal With Food Problems

45040109 Beirut AL-MUSTAQBAL AL-'ARABI
in Arabic November 1988 pp 89-118

[Article by Dr 'Abd-al-Sahib al-'Ulwan, Tenured Professor at Baghdad University: "Agricultural Development Crisis and Food Security Dilemma"]

[Excerpts]

Introduction

There has been extensive talk in the past two decades about agricultural development generally and about food security in particular. Numerous studies have been conducted by a number of international and Arab organizations and by regional institutions and specialized researchers to develop a solution to this problem and to determine its economic, social and political dimensions. There have also been so many meetings, conferences, resolutions and plans in the past decade that many citizens have come to believe that a solution to the problem is less than a hair's breadth away. This belief is attributed to the failure to pay attention to the wide gap between the desired performance and the actual accomplishment or between resolutions and implementation in the Arab homeland's economic and political arena. The conclusion of agreements followed by the failure to abide by them has become an evident phenomenon in the common Arab action.

Generally, it can be said that despite the ample literature that has dealt with this issue in the recent era, most of this literature has come up with nothing new. It merely reiterates what had been written earlier in one form or another, focusing on similar points pertaining to the food security or self-sufficiency concept, to the Arab agricultural potentials, to the impediments facing development and increased agricultural production and to the significance of joint Arab action to achieve Arab economic integration and food security.

In the first part of this study, consisting of three parts, we will very briefly review these and other points in order to understand the dimensions of this problem and the general framework within which it revolves. But we will then study more thoroughly the causes of food shortage and its connection with the agricultural production development problem, with the status given to agriculture in the development models, with the agricultural sector's share of the development plans' appropriations and with the role of technology in speeding up the development process and in solving the food shortage problem and the Arab agricultural cooperation problems.

The second part of this study deals with what we call the "seven-sided nature of the Arab agricultural development crisis," meaning that seven serious crises have engulfed Arab agricultural development and prevented it from achieving its objectives and devising rapid and successful solutions to the food security crisis. These crises, or obstacles, can be enumerated as follows:

- The economic imbalance crisis.
- The agricultural sector financing and investment crisis.
- The technology and scientific research crisis.
- The agricultural labor crisis.
- The crisis of management and of poor organizational and institutional structures.
- The agricultural planning and policies crisis.
- The Arab agricultural coordination and integration crisis.

After discussing these crises and obstacles and reviewing the means to control them, the study moves to the third, and final, part which discusses strategies to speed up Arab agricultural development in order to achieve the ultimate goals of enhancing production quantitatively and qualitatively and of realizing food security and prosperity for the Arab society. [Passage omitted]

Agricultural Policies

The agricultural policies embraced by numerous Arab countries are among the main shackles obstructing the achievement of major growth in agriculture. These policies, especially the policy of agricultural pricing in a number of Arab countries, have curtailed the agricultural sector's growth by virtue of their negative impact on the efficient distribution of agricultural resources and incomes. In Egypt, low prices were set for numerous agricultural products and this constituted a completely frustrating element for farmers because it did not encourage them to produce. In fact, this element created an imbalance in the distribution of incomes and permitted further inefficient distribution of the resources. The low agricultural prices and the poor yield from agriculture had their negative impact on land use by encouraging the use of fertile cultivable lands for urban purposes. These elements also contributed to encouraging farmers to shift from crops that are required to be supplied at fixed low prices to other crops, such as vegetables and fruits, or to livestock production. Consequently, the government was compelled recently to change this direction by raising prices paid to the producers for a number of commodities, especially rice, cotton and sugarcane.³³

In other Arab countries, unrewarding agricultural prices have caused diverting the resources far from the agricultural sector. Moreover, the low prices paid for some crops caused resources to be diverted from such crops and farmers to discontinue producing them and to turn to the production of other crops that yield rewarding prices. In Algeria, reduced agricultural prices, coupled with the recurrent shortage of subsidized production

requirements, led to the failure to develop the private sector, thus accelerating emigration from the countryside to the city, to the diversion of cultivable lands to non-agricultural uses and to the greatly increased production of commodities whose prices are not controlled by the government, such as vegetables, fruits and meats.³⁴

In the PDRY, the pricing policy applied in the area of agricultural products has led to consequences detrimental to the farmers. Prices were set at low sub-balanced levels so that products may be supplied to the consumer affordably. Even though prices of agricultural products are set according to estimates of actual costs, with a reasonable profit margin added, it is difficult to change these prices at a time when production costs are increasing because price changes are concentrated in the hands of the highest government authority. This causes delay in making the decision at the right time and, consequently, to discontent among the farmers because of the low yield of agricultural work.³⁵

In Iraq, the agricultural pricing policy suffers from faults in the pricing principles, thus causing it to fail to achieve price stability and a regular supply of agricultural goods. This policy has also failed to respond to the food security requirements, with self-sufficiency in some strategic crops dropping from 70 percent in the 1970's to 50 percent in the 1980's. It seems that the policy of subsidizing the prices of agricultural products has not been so rewarding as to encourage and motivate the producer to produce crops that achieve food security on the one hand and reward him with a reasonable income on the other. A practical econometric study on the farmers' response to the relative agricultural prices in Iraq from 1966 to 1980 has made it evident that farmers respond by a large degree to long-range price changes³⁶, contrary to some Iraqi economists who believe that price does not affect production and does not sufficiently encourage increased production.³⁷

In Morocco, we find that the price policy is tied to the marketing and distribution of agricultural products and production requirements and that it is inclined toward the free market, with the government intervening to correct, in most cases, the course of the market relations in favor of the urban consumer. Therefore, we find that imbalances exist in the price relations and that they are biased against the agricultural producer. Even though the state fixes crop prices according to production cost estimates and even though production requirements are subsidized to enhance the efficient use of fertilizers, improved seed and mechanization, these elements serve the interest of the big producer. The small producer has not benefited greatly from this policy. Rather, agriculture generally and the exportation-oriented food industries have been harmed by the price subsidy policy whereas the industries designed to replace imports have enjoyed protection (indirect subsidy).³⁸

In Saudi Arabia, the farmers' response to the change of crop prices has been very strong and has led to a vast increase in grain production and to self-sufficiency in this regard. The pricing policy has given the producers the opportunity to get very rewarding prices that far exceed the world prices and that amount to nearly fivefold the latter prices. Moreover, this policy greatly subsidizes the production requirements, with the subsidy amounting to nearly 50 percent the world price of such requirements as fertilizers, fodders, agricultural machinery and irrigation pumps and to 30 percent the price of chicken farm equipment and dairy production equipment. Moreover, crop-protection and pesticide-spraying services and transportation of cattle by plane are all free services. This policy has encouraged the use of modern agricultural technology, in addition to achieving self-sufficiency and a big surplus for export in grains³⁹. Saudi Arabia's 1986 grain production amounted to nearly 2 million tons whereas the country's consumption is estimated at less than 1 million tons. The surplus production can be considered a strategic reserve to deal with any shortfall in the crop resulting from natural elements or from other factors. In case the production continues to increase, which is what is actually happening, then the surplus is exported to neighboring Arab countries.

The situation in Saudi Arabia denotes a rare model where oil revenues have been efficiently invested in agriculture despite some Arab economists who fault this policy because of its high production cost and because grains can be produced at lower costs in other Arab areas characterized by high agricultural productivity. Other economists believe that the adoption of this model encourages the use of modern technologies and, consequently, further strengthens subservience to foreign technology in the area of imported machinery, equipment, improved seed, fertilizer, pesticide, modern irrigation equipment and so forth.

We believe that for the following reasons, these economists make an obvious mistake when they focus on the economic and technical elements and disregard the sociopolitical elements pertaining to agricultural development:

In a society dominated by political, economic and military conflicts, food has become one of the weapons used in international conflicts. A country that does not produce its own food may not necessarily be able to secure the food it lacks even if it has the money to buy it because the political factor may often be the decisive factor. Therefore, securing food from local sources is a strategic national objective.

The main objective of the development strategy in the oil countries, such as Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Libya, is to try to insure an organized, not a haphazardly, end to the oil era by expanding the economic base and by reducing

the oil sector's domination of the national economy. Therefore, the development of an advanced economic sector that does not rely on oil becomes a necessity for the post-oil era.

This policy strengthens the agricultural producers' bond to the land, develops rural communities and controls emigration from the countryside to the cities.

Even if viewed economically, this policy's positive features exceed its negative features:

A. This policy saves the government vast sums of money which would have been spent on agricultural imports. In 1984, Saudi Arabia saved 3.79 billion riyals by not importing grains in that year.

B. Even though Saudi Arabia's grain production costs are high because of the subsidy and aid policy and because of (the country's relative disadvantage) insofar as the production of crops such as wheat is concerned, this policy cannot be considered a deviation from the economic principles pertaining to investment priorities in a country where capital is available and exceeds the need. In this case, the principle of alternative yields or of opportunity cost does not apply because this economic principle is applied when capital is limited and when it is essential to examine all alternative uses in order to select the best use of every part of the capital. In such a case, the investment priorities must be determined in a manner that produces the biggest economic yield possible. But when capital is available in excess of the need, the question of investment priorities is no longer significant. However, the principle of opportunity costs in the Saudi model may pose this question to us: What are the opportunities available to the Saudi producer (in this case, the Saudi Government primarily) to invest his monies if he has not invested them in already existing projects? The answer is that he has two opportunities: The opportunity of investment in the Arab countries and the opportunity of investment in foreign countries.

Regarding investment opportunities in the Arab countries, there is, of course, relative acceptance of the idea of investment in the Arab countries—acceptance attributable by a degree to the numerous joint interests and to the need to achieve strong economic integration among the Arab countries. But this type of investment continues to be below the desired level, either because of the limitations restricting development projects in some Arab countries or because of other political or non-political reasons. The oil countries, including Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, have played a considerable role in the Arab economic development projects by advancing loans to the needy Arab countries, by providing financial grants, by appropriating direct investments and by depositing some monies in Arab banks. This is in addition to these countries' contribution to the Arab Economic and Social Development Fund and to the Arab Agricultural Investment Organization.

As for investment in foreign countries, it consumes the major part of the surplus oil revenues which exceed these countries' current needs and which are designated for investment abroad. The financial assets invested in the United States and the West European countries have been exposed to diminution and erosion as a result of monetary inflation and of the changes in the exchange rates of the currencies of the countries in which these monies are deposited. Moreover, these monies are exposed to confiscation and nationalization and to being used as a hostage. This is what has given rise to the statement that the oil lying under the ground is a better investment than the monies deposited in foreign banks.

It is evident from this that investment in the agricultural sector, despite its exorbitant costs and its small yield when compared to the yield of investment abroad, represents in the long run a firm multi-advantage and risk-free economic base. This being the case, investing in agriculture is much better than channeling financial surpluses toward insecure banking or real estate investments abroad. [passage omitted]

Strategies To Accelerate Arab Agricultural Development and To Achieve Food Security: Summary and Conclusions

1. The conclusions made by this study include the strategies proposed to accelerate Arab agricultural development and to achieve the national objectives of food security. The seven crises which are considered to be impediments to Arab agricultural development and which hinder the achievement of pan-Arab food security as well as the constantly widening gap between food production and consumption which has emanated from this problem and has intensified since the early 1970's have been discussed and analyzed. The flaw in the economic balance, especially between production and consumption, has led to increased food exposure and increased reliance on the outside world to supply the essential food needs. The rapid growth in the demand for foodstuffs, estimated at 6 percent annually during the 1970-85 period, has not been countered by similar growth in the agricultural production which has increased at a rate of no more than 2.5 percent annually during the same period. This is what has led to the food-gap problem and to the increased costs of this problem year after year. Whereas this gap dictated spending an average of \$1.2 billion annually in the 1970-74 period, \$17.9 billion in 1980 at the current prices and an average of \$20 billion annually in the 1980-84 period, these expenditures will amount to \$45 billion in the year 2000 at the 1980 current prices if conditions continue to develop in the same direction. The constant rise in the cost of food imports may lead to serious economic consequences if immediate steps are not taken to change the current tendencies by adopting a strategy that curtails the constant growth in demand for foodstuffs while continuing to exert efforts to meet the citizens' essential food needs. Even though it is possible to achieve these two objectives by controlling the growth

of demand, the important step in this strategy concerns what must be done in connection with supply, i.e. enhancing agricultural productivity and production by making a comprehensive and concerted effort to expand agriculture vertically and horizontally and to overcome the other crises and obstacles that obstruct the achievement of accelerated agricultural development.

2. The strategy to overcome the financing and investment crisis in the Arab agricultural sector must seek to enhance the rate of capital formation and to give increased relative importance to investments allocated for the agricultural sector compared to investments channeled toward the other sectors in the regional development plans. Most of the Arab countries have not yet confronted the flaw existing in the Arab agricultural development and food security with the efforts and investment appropriations needed to expand agriculture horizontally and vertically and to build a material and organizational structural base, or the so-called infrastructure. This base is still narrow and suffers from extreme backwardness in a number of Arab agricultural countries, such as Sudan and Somalia. In most of the Arab countries, the balance between the agricultural production elements is limited and it cannot be achieved unless greater cooperation than before is established between the Arab countries in the areas of investment and financing. The flow of financial aid and agricultural development loans from the well-to-do Arab countries to the needy Arab countries is still small and of a limited impact despite the numerous Arab development-financing organizations and funds. Efforts must be made to eliminate all the difficulties and impediments obstructing a greater flow of capital between the Arab countries for the purpose of investment in agriculture and in activities related to and complementing agriculture. Moreover, the proper investment climate must be created in order to encourage the private sector to participate seriously in developing agriculture.

3. As for the strategy of increased use of modern technology and of developing scientific agricultural research, it must seek to bolster the programs concerned with developing and applying both the biological and the mechanical aspects of improved technology. The imported technology must be modified, developed and adapted to be made compatible with the characteristics and needs of the Arab agricultural environments. Concerted agricultural research and agricultural guidance programs must be formulated and all the obstacles and restrictions curtailing the usefulness of such programs must be eliminated. Considering that Arab regional capabilities alone may not be able to achieve a distinguished accomplishment in putting modern technology and advanced agricultural research to use, Arab cooperation becomes a must in this regard for overcoming the obstacle of the inadequate financial resources allocated to finance scientific research and technological development and for enhancing the efficiency of performance by combining the efforts by ideally employing the resources

available at the universities and scientific research institutes. Moreover, it is necessary to have the modern production requirements, such as improved seeds, synthetic fertilizers, pesticides and agricultural machinery and equipment, produced by joint and integrated Arab projects possessing the proper technical and market capabilities to produce these requirements at economically competitive prices so as to eliminate reliance on the outside world to secure the elements.

4. Enough attention must be devoted to overcoming the problem of the major shortage of agricultural labor. This problem has been intensifying in most of the Arab countries since the mid-1970's and it has had a serious negative impact on agricultural production. The rural expulsion forces emanating from the diminishing agricultural yield, from the drop in incomes and living standards and from the unavailability of adequate public and social services in the Arab countryside and the attraction forces emanating from the inducements of work outside the agricultural sector have caused large numbers of agricultural workers to emigrate from the countryside in an effort to improve their living conditions. Because the current shortage of agricultural labor has gravely affected the development efforts and has prevented them from moving steadily to implement the development programs, a special strategy must be adopted to solve this problem. This strategy must have as its objective controlling this crisis by either of or by both the following means:

A. Embrace the policy of the gradual replacement of labor by capital, i.e. use more selective equipment and machinery to make up for the labor shortage. But even if such equipment and machinery is available, it does not totally dispense with labor.

B. Devote attention to a complete rural development that leads to enhancing the production and income levels and to fair distribution; expand the employment opportunities by introducing structural changes that serve the poor rural groups, provide them with incentives, insure their stability and that improve the health, education, housing and public service and utility standards. The common phenomenon which most of the Arab agricultural countries share is the vast backwardness from which the rural society suffers in comparison with the urban society and the evident disparity in the income levels and living standards and in the availability of public and social services. This has led to a flaw in the social balance, to the absence of the elements of rural stability, to increased emigration and to the emergence of a major shortage in agricultural labor. We cannot achieve complete agricultural development and lasting food security unless they are coupled with a comprehensive and complete rural development that creates stability, enhances the rural living standard and reduces the vast difference between the urban living standard and rural living standard.

5. To develop a solution for the management crisis and for the poor organizational and institutional structures from which the agricultural sector in most of the Arab countries suffers, concerted efforts must be made to overcome the obvious problem of the qualitative and quantitative shortage of qualified management leaderships capable of adapting and fitting the technological agricultural developments and of formulating and implementing the proper economic plans. The problem of the poor and multiple organizations and institutions, of the dual and contradictory policies from which they suffer, of the subsequent inefficiency of work and of the gap between the expected performance and the actual performance must also be overcome. Overcoming the management crisis through administrative reform and through devoting attention to the organizations and institutions by reforming, developing and reformulating their policies dictates that a pan-Arab strategy be formulated to create and develop managerial leaderships and to establish effective administrative agencies, trained manpower and flexible regulations so that the state may be able to implement its agricultural and rural development plans with greater facility and at higher rates than before.

6. As for agricultural planning and policies, the strategy of accelerating agricultural development requires, in addition to the solutions for the already discussed crises, eliminating the main shackles that have obstructed achievement of the goals of the agricultural policies to increase agricultural production and to enhance its growth rates. Insofar as agricultural planning is concerned, we find that the agricultural development plans have experienced numerous problems emanating from the lack of harmony and connection between the sectoral programs, from the absence of interconnected sectoral planning, from the lack of a balance between economic development and social development, from the absence of an accurate and thorough statistical data and information base, from the failure to give agriculture the development investments befitting its place and last, but not least, from the absence of the pan-Arab dimension in most of the regional development plans. All this has led to the failure of these plans to achieve an economically comprehensive and complete agricultural development at high growth rates. The only way to overcome these problems and obstacles is to embrace a new strategy that seeks to establish a regional and sectoral balance in the development process, without ignoring the dynamic interactions between industrial development and agricultural development within the same country, and that puts emphasis on the pan-Arab dimension by creating a strong Arab integrative framework which provides a broad opportunity for acquiring sufficient financial resources and additional markets and that complements the intrinsic savings and managerial and technical capabilities of [each of] these countries.

As for the agricultural policies, especially the pricing policy, they can, if employed properly, perform a very significant role in achieving major growth in agriculture

and agricultural production. Inversely, these policies may, if not soundly formulated and capably implemented, be an obstruction to increased productivity and agricultural production. Therefore, a strategy must be formulated with the aim of moving prices in the direction of a number of relative prices that help achieve sound relations and an efficient use of the resources, whether within the agricultural sector or between this sector and the other nonagricultural sectors. Because the objective of the strategy concerning the agricultural pricing policy is to increase agricultural production and to contribute to achieving food security, this objective is achieved by offering relatively high incentive prices to encourage the agricultural producer to increase his production. It is, moreover, necessary to adopt the policy of subsidizing the production requirements—a policy which seeks primarily to encourage the use of these requirements along with the modern agricultural technological innovations that lead to increased production and productivity.

7. As for the Arab economic and agricultural coordination and integration crisis, despite the impediments and challenges that have faced the Arab economic integration efforts and that have led to retreat from the strategic objectives embodied in transforming the Arab markets into a single major market which offers economic benefits exceeding in their entirety the benefits achieved by each country separately, the causes of this retreat can be attributed to the great ambitions which seemed to be in conflict with the regional economic and political interests. It would have been better for the integration processes to be launched gradually and in phases, starting, for example, with bilateral integration, then regional integration and then, as a final phase, collective pan-Arab integration. This is why the Arab agricultural coordination and integration strategy should, under the canopy of the Arab countries' political conditions and of the policy of the regional development patterns, be built on voluntary bases that are characterized by flexibility and graduality and that strengthen the economic interests of all the countries participating in it and why big ambitions conflicting with the regional interests should be avoided in this phase. There is no doubt that some sort of an Arab common market similar to the EEC will become acceptable to all the Arab countries⁴⁴ as long as it deals with the problem of Arab agricultural development and food security in freedom from whatever clashes with the regional interests in this phase by way of the gradual liberalization of the exchange of agricultural products and of production requirements within the Arab homeland, by employing joint pricing, subsidy and aid policies to enhance production and productivity and by formulating plans to tackle whatever flaws and obstacles encounter the subsequent joint Arab action for agricultural development.

The gist of what we want to emphasize in this study is that the strategies to accelerate agricultural development in order to achieve increased productivity and production and to insure the Arab food security must work to

eliminate the negative influences of the aforementioned crises and obstacles and must make use of the experiments of the nations that have preceded us in this regard, that have focused on a number of extremely important areas, that have given top priority to the need to couple two important means to achieve agricultural development, namely: modern technology and scientific research with a rewarding price policy that encourages the producer. This is what has happened in advanced countries such as the United States and the European countries and, recently, in less developed countries, such as India and a number of other developing countries. In the wake of World War II, the European countries were the biggest importer of foodstuffs. But in recent years, these countries have turned to the biggest exporter of foodstuffs due to the reasons which have already been noted and which are embodied in:

- The use of modern technological means in agriculture.
- The big financial subsidy the European farmer gets and the guaranteed price given his products.
- The protectionist policy which has dictated increased fees on competing agricultural products coming from outside the EEC.⁴⁵

The same means have been used for a long time to develop and enhance the U.S. agriculture. The developing countries employing the same approach have achieved dazzling success, as in the case of India and, recently, Saudi Arabia which has been able to achieve self-sufficiency in wheat. Saudi Arabia's 1985 [wheat] production amounted to two million tons whereas it had not exceeded 3,000 tons eight years earlier. This policy has saved Saudi Arabia vast sums of money which were spent annually on grain imports.

Thus, it seems necessary to reemphasize the importance of adopting this strategy which will achieve food security and will save the Arab countries vast sums spent annually to import grains from abroad. The cash value of the food gap is escalating constantly year after year. This value is expected to amount to \$45 billions in the year 2000 unless a fundamental change develops in the agricultural policy pattern. We believe that the Arab countries, with the abundant resources at their disposal, can reach self-sufficiency in grains and can completely dispense with grain imports before the onset of the year 2000 if they adopt a rewarding price policy, a concerted and effective program of agricultural research and guidance, of financial subsidies and of aid to help the producer to use the modern agricultural technology, after it is modified to fit the various Arab agricultural environments, more extensively. The regional efforts must be then reinforced with a phased Arab agricultural coordination and integration program that insures exchange of the production elements and agricultural products exceeding the regional need. The investment sums needed to implement this policy can be recouped from

the surpluses which a country will obtain as a result of self-sufficiency and of absence of the need to import grains and other essential foodstuffs from abroad.

Footnotes

33. Egypt, Ministry of Agriculture, "Report by Presidential Mission to Study Agricultural Development in Egypt," (Cairo: Cabinet, 1982).

34. Fahmi Bishay, "Toward Better Pricing and Marketing Policy: From Experiments of Far East Countries," Paper Submitted to Ministry of Agriculture, Egypt, and to UN FAO-United Nations, National Symposium on Agricultural Pricing and Marketing Policies.

35. Arab Agricultural Development Organization, "The PDRY Agricultural Policy," (Khartoum: [D.N.], 1983).

36. See: Bishay, Same Source.

37. "Opinions on Agricultural Pricing Policy," al-Rafidayn Development, (Mosul University), (1986), p 36.

38. Arab Agricultural Development Organization, "Agricultural Policy of the Kingdom of Morocco," (Khartoum:[D.N.], 1983).

39. Arab Agricultural Development Organization, "Agricultural Policy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia," (Khartoum:[D.N.], 1983). See also: "Story of Cultivation of 2 Million Tons of Wheat," Saudi Ministry of Information Pamphlet, (Riyadh), (1986). [passage omitted]

44. It must be noted that an agreement exists for an Arab common market that includes a small number of Arab countries. It may be better to restructure the frameworks of this market and to develop them in a manner that encourages all the Arab countries to join and strengthen the market so that it may perform its task efficiently.

45. Creation of the EEC has produced a big surplus in agricultural production. By the end of 1986, the EEC had a surplus of 1.5 million tons of butter, 750,000 tons of beef, one million tons of powdered milk and a mountain of grain amounting to 17 million tons. As for the wine lake, it was estimated at 300 million gallons. Auditors called for destroying the butter because it cost \$1.3 billion dollars annually to store.

Aluminum Production To Be Increased
44000212c Doha GULF TIMES in English
21 Nov 88 p 11

[Text] The case for expanding the Gulf's aluminium industry was unfolded yesterday.

Dr 'Abdallah al-Mu'ajjil, secretary-general of the Gulf Organisation for Industrial Consulting [GOIC], told a businessmen's meeting in Doha that whereas aluminium

production had reduced considerably in Europe, the United States and Japan ("which hardly produces any more") general demand for aluminium throughout the world was rising.

Whereas demand had gone up about 2 percent in the early '80s it was now much higher. The Arab Gulf states, producing 325,000 tons years in Bahrain and Dubayy, would step up output by 8,000 tons soon, giving 2.5 per cent of world capacity in the capitalist world.

And GOIC studies at committee level had agreed a target of 1.5mn tons by the turn of the century, 10 per cent of world production, would be feasible.

Arguing that aluminium manufacture should not be considered only in profit terms, Dr al-Mu'ajil told his luncheon audience at Doha Sheraton Hotel that the industry must be seen also in relationship with other existing important projects.

Aluminium manufacture, he explained, has three needs: efficient technology, readily available energy at the right price and raw materials.

Dr al-Mu'ajil quoted figures from a comparative study by GOIC of the industries in South Korea, Australia and Bahrain, showing the Gulf activities already in a favourable light, partly because unlike many other parts of the world, where the industry was 15-40 years old and therefore now outdated, the Gulf could utilise recent technologies dramatically changing the industry.

Bauxite for the industry is widely available in Australia, Venezuela (mainly for home consumption) and India, and it looked to GOIC as if India and, possibly, Saudi Arabia (where reasonable quality bauxite had recently been found) offered the Gulf prospects of steady supply, albeit in the Saudi case a new railway line might have to be laid for distribution.

Also a Kuwait refinery could provide soon supplies of green coke also essential.

While the higher demand for aluminium had twice doubled in recent months, it was believed a big dip in aluminium prices would be seen in 1990-91.

Within the region, Dr al-Mu'ajil said, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Iraq all had aluminium projects under consideration, and Bahrain was thinking perhaps to boost production largely. On GOIC reckoning, at least two more production units are needed to meet future demands, and the Qatar project must come because of the coming supply of North Dome gas.

Dr al-Mu'ajil said that because Gulf governments provided essential materials it was vital the governments should be involved in such projects, albeit perhaps through their agencies.

Qatar, Dr al-Mu'ajil recalled, was willing to supply smelter gas and had a committee already studying different possibilities for the establishment of an aluminium industry, including an involvement of international participation.

The GOIC official said: "There are many examples in our development process in the Gulf where we lost a chance to grab a good captive market just because we were slow and delayed, and wanted more guarantees to safeguard our decision.

"Gas development is a good example. If this had been done six or seven years before it would have been much better, in view of the captive market at the time.

"So, yes, there are risks, but if you keep counting them and researching them you will never make a decision. But as they say: there is no good decision or bad decision. There is either a decision or no decision."

Citizenship To Be Granted to Foreign Nationals
44000212b Doha GULF TIMES in English
15 Nov 88 p 10

[Article by S M M Nainar: "More Flexible Population Policy Urged"]

[Text] [Boxed item: "Foreign nationals living in the GCC states should be granted citizenship so that they could be absorbed in the mainstream and their talents and expertise could be utilised fully..."]

"Activities of local markets need to be expanded..." [end boxed item]

In [an] exclusive interview with the Arab daily AL-KHALIJ of al-Shariqah the governor of GCC states' central bank, 'Abd-al-Malik al Hamar recently spoke of the need for a more flexible population policy so that foreign nationals of high expertise serving in GCC states could be granted citizenship, and their services used more. He also spoke of need to expand activities of the local markets.

Mr Hamar answered questions on three main issues:

- Investment priorities in the Arab Gulf states during the next 10 years;
- Role of oil in the Gulf economies and the possibility of total eclipse in the oil market; and the suitable alternatives in such an eventuality;
- Can the present economic activities of the Gulf states be sufficient to create a new Gulf economic reality?

On investment priorities, the governor said the Gulf states have in recent years adopted a strategy on economic growth based on development of industries and diversification of the economic base. During early

phases, economic growth almost totally depended on the government sector but the end '70s and early '80s witnessed a fast and impressive growth of the private sector. Many imported consumer products have been replaced by locally made.

The availability of financial incentives; fully equipped industrial zones; low cost of different categories of energy and petroleum based raw materials; low interest rates on loans; and aids granted to industries in some Gulf states besides compulsory preference to local products over imported products have all contributed to a healthy economic growth.

The governor said Arab Gulf states offer tremendous investment opportunities since they enjoy a high degree of political stability.

The minimum or nil level of taxes: free-market policy; well-knit administrative structures; and absence of red-tape and complicated bureaucratic procedures are among other factors which will help.

Governor Hamar foresees no eclipse of oil as a commodity, but expects an increase in demand for both oil and natural gas, both as raw materials for export and as input for local industries. But it may be possible to set up industries not dependent on these two sources as basic inputs, and so additional income may be generated for the national economy of every Gulf country. And it may help alleviate any loss in revenue from oil exports.

In the agriculture, the Saudi experiment has shown it can ensure availability of foodstuffs though costs may not be viable economically. This is because the cost of producing water through desalination is very high in all Gulf states. So local production may not replace imports in this sector except for reasons of national security of the GCC states. However, agricultural activity may become more feasible if the desalination technology is further improved.

In mineral wealth, if large deposits of iron ore are discovered it may be possible to set up iron and steel industries which, in turn, may lead to the establishment of ancillary industries.

The governor spoke about limited scope of Gulf markets and emphasised the need to expand them. He said the Arabian Peninsula's geographical area equals that of all the EEC countries. But population of the EEC countries is around 230mn whereas the Arabian Peninsula (i.e., the GCC states) consists of only 17mn! So GCC states should think of adopting foreign nationals whose expertise and talents could be more fully utilised. He mentioned the open door policy of the United States and Canada on the question of immigrants.

The governor further said that expanding local markets by increasing population would provide a strong support and incentive for investments. Migrants after naturalisation may not transfer their earnings to their countries of origin as now their contract ends. Their savings could be utilised in many useful projects for the common good.

The services sector in GCC states, is in the governor's opinion, dependent mainly on the population, and it has during the past few years of economic recession claimed a large slice of the gross national product.

Air-Ground Tactics in Lebanon Analyzed
44230026 Tel-Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
24 Oct 88 p 9

[Article by Re'uven Padhatzor]

[Text] The bombings carried out by Air Force planes on Friday in an attack over a very wide sector in southern Lebanon will not put an end to terrorist actions against IDF soldiers in the security zone. This fact is well understood even by those who planned the attack, some of the targets of which were located not far from Syrian Army positions in the central sector of southern Lebanon.

Use of the Air Force has many advantages, but its efficiency is limited, especially when it does not come as a surprise to the other side. Aerial bombardment prevents direct contact between IDF soldiers and fighters of the terror organizations and prevents losses, particularly in areas in which anti-aircraft defenses are thin and ineffective. The problem is that most of the fighters that the IDF would like to strike escape from their camps and command posts immediately after [as published] a major attack is carried out and the bombs fall on ghost camps, striking empty buildings. In addition, the terrorists have fortified themselves in the camps and command posts. The fortifications are such that even direct hits by bombs dropped from the air do not cause damage.

Before the IDF raided the Hizballah stronghold at Kafr Maydun, the village was subjected to extensive softening by artillery. In essence, the artillery preparation is comparable to aerial bombardment, and the consideration tilting the balance to using artillery and not planes is the ability to bring the guns into striking range of the target. It is clear that, despite the great number of shells that the artillery dropped on the buildings of Maydun, very few Hizballah fighters in the village were hit. The rest hid in the fortified structures and waited for the IDF soldiers who entered the village after the artillery softening.

Both the Hizballah men and the fighters of the Palestinian organizations have fortified themselves in permanent camps and prepared to absorb bombings. Thus, it happens that, in a large portion of the Air Force raids, the number of terrorists struck is relatively small. That is

nothing to scoff at, but the terror organizations have learned to live with attacks from Air Force planes and, as time passes, are perfecting their methods for defending against them.

The conspicuously infrequent use of the Air Force in the struggle against terror rests on the simple proposition, accepted by all who work in the field: It is not possible to overcome terror only by means of air raids. Even if they disrupt the terrorists' daily lives and oblige them to undertake repairs of their buildings and camps, the raids cannot put an end to the activities of the terrorist fighters and certainly not to their motivation. The war against terror requires continuing, repetitive action designed to surprise the terror organizations and cause them to defend themselves at the cost of planning and executing terrorist activities.

The struggle against terror in Lebanon will not come to an end with strikes by our planes on "terrorist targets," to use the language of the announcements of the IDF spokesman. It will continue at least until the political system in that country stabilizes and certainly even after that. The realization that the end of terror directed against IDF soldiers in southern Lebanon, and against targets in Israel itself, cannot be expected in the foreseeable future, is given at all senior levels of command in the IDF, just as it is clear to the defense minister. It is understood that the struggle for political hegemony in Beirut and the bloody war over control of southern Lebanon has a direct effect on terrorist activities against us. Since it does not seem that these are soon going to end, we must prepare for continuing attempts to strike at the IDF and the northern settlements.

The fact that some of the terror organizations have at their disposal an inexhaustible pool of fighters willing to sacrifice their lives makes frustration of their actions extremely difficult. The willingness of young Shi'ites to blow themselves up in booby trapped cars, as a key to the gates of Heaven, converts almost every car that passes by an IDF vehicle into a potential car bomb.

Of course, it is impossible to completely shut down all traffic on the roads of southern Lebanon or to change traffic patterns in a way that would prevent the inhabitants from traveling about freely, for that is a basic part of normal daily life. The Northern Command will certainly revise the traffic procedures for IDF vehicles in Lebanon and may even add new regulations as a result of the explosion near Sha'ar Fatimah. But averting penetration of car bombs into southern Lebanon, or locating them at the time they are being prepared in one of the villages of the security zone will still be done in the future primarily at road blocks by the Army of South Lebanon and at the intelligence level.

With all the trouble it involves, it is necessary to recognize that the security zone is not cut off from the rest of Lebanon, and the rules of the game there are similar to those in the north of the country. So long as it is possible

to hire for \$50 a mercenary willing to set up a katyusha and to aim it towards the northern settlements, terrorist attacks will continue. And so long as there are young people ready to record their final words on a video tape and to go on a trip which ends with them setting off bombs in the cars in which they are riding, they will try again and again to attack our soldiers with car bombs.

The IDF's objective is not physical elimination of the terror organizations. That is impossible to achieve. The IDF needs to focus on two areas: thwarting terrorist acts before they are carried out and continuing action that hurts those organizations that send their fighters to attack the IDF and Israel. To attain these goals, the IDF needs to undertake, in addition to occasional air raids, ground actions against the strongholds and command centers of the various organizations. The successful operation at Kafr Maydun against the regional headquarters of Hizballah had a positive influence for months. The IDF must continue to subject selected targets to attacks by ground troops, even if the risk is higher than it would be with using Air Force planes.

In recent months, the extreme Shi'ite organization has formed what the Northern Command calls "Hizballah land." This is an area, extending north of the security zone in which the Shi'ite organization enjoys full autonomy and the unfettered ability to engage in operational organizing. Although the IDF is closely following what is happening, which brings to mind the start of the formation of "Fatahland," ground action against this center of terrorist activity has been avoided.

Those who now propose expanding the security zone to prevent attacks on IDF soldiers base their suggestions on political, not operational considerations. The IDF must continue to hold and strengthen the security zone as the lesser of the evils, and to take bold, punitive action against the headquarters and camps of the terror organizations. It would seem that the shift toward a more active operational initiative is the obvious conclusion to draw from the tragedy that occurred so close to the northern border.

Gulf Contractors Seek Entry to Iraqi Market *Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 20 Nov 88 p 13*

[Text] The director of the Coordinating Office for Contractors of the GCC countries [COC-GCC], Engineer Husayn Murad al-Balushi, stated that Gulf businessmen, contractors, and investors are hoping to obtain an impressive share of the Iraqi contracts market, implement reconstruction projects, and help promote economic and social development.

Al-Balushi added that foreign contracting companies—which have begun to compete in order to exploit the fruits of peace by intensifying their contacts and demonstrating their capabilities in order to win the greatest

share of construction projects—dream of undertaking a large construction revolution similar to that of the oil effervescence in the Gulf Arab states during the mid-1970s and early 1980s.

In a public statement issued by the COC-GCC, which has adopted Dammam as its headquarters, al-Balushi indicated that the attention being given to Iran and Iraq has become the topic of the hour. He emphasized that attempts to obtain a share of the available business opportunities in Iraq is a legitimate pursuit and a guaranteed right. Regarding the role of Gulf contractors vis-a-vis these developments, he affirmed that the boom period in the Gulf and the huge programs carried out during it provided Gulf contractors with extensive knowledge and broad experience in handling the workloads of building and construction operations. He also stated that the ambitious development plans and excellent incentives of the boom period encouraged the building materials industry to move forward significantly.

Al-Balushi expressed hope that Gulf contractors will be granted a preferred position that will enable them to share in the implementation of construction projects in Iraq.

In another matter, a report issued by the COC-GCC disclosed that numerous world companies of various nationalities—Japanese, American, British, and French—and institutions of the Eastern European countries and the developing countries, such as India and Korea, have continued to maintain a permanent presence in Iraq in order to thereby be able to monitor economic developments in Iraq and to benefit from the capability offered by wartime projects in preparation for the phase following the war's cessation.

The report stated that the maintenance of a permanent presence in the market is an important strategy of numerous large multinational companies, which can absorb the losses accompanying initial groundbreaking phases until they become anchored and achieve an effective share of the market.

The report indicated the existence of an intense infatuation with Iraq and Iran on the part of foreign companies with the full support of their governments. The report stated that these companies are active arms of these countries and are their means for distributing their products, operating their factories, stimulating their economies, and increasing their growth averages and employment rates.

The report emphasized that the nature of the operations proposed in Iraq conforms, in many respects, to the experience and capabilities of Gulf contractors. It states that Gulf contractors have acquired advanced skills pertaining to the implementation of construction and building projects, and the construction of roads, bridges, and civil and electrical installations.

The report of the COC-GCC indicated that the circumstances are currently ripe for entering into direct negotiations supervised by Gulf Governments and the Iraqi Government in order to remove the obstacles pertaining to methods of payments and dues derived from these methods, and a program of payment guaranteed by the government.

The report also emphasized the trends sanctioned by Iraq in 1987, which favor using local materials, products, and raw materials as much as possible in the implementation of projects, and limiting recourse to foreign companies regarding the provision of technical expertise and equipment.

It stated that these measures provide an opportunity to Gulf contractors to implement numerous projects and to benefit from the great facilities granted to Arab capital and Arab products. It emphasized that this matter is neither easy nor unimportant in consideration of the fact that entrance into any market and the obtainment of work there requires psychological and material preparation. The report of the COC-GCC called on enterprising, capable Gulf contracting companies to open offices in Iraq, publicize their abilities, and create contacts with governmental agencies involved in implementing development projects following the model of the foreign companies which have entered the Iraqi market. According to the report, they should do so not in order to [corner the market] in one fell swoop, but in order to remain and to continue. By virtue of their geographical and historical links with Iraq, Gulf contractors are capable of profiting more than others if they can master the art of marketing, and demonstrate the ability and skill to implement projects.

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Fatah Official Discusses Relations With Lebanon
44040087a Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic
2 Nov 88 p 23

[Interview with Fatah Official Zayd Wahbah; date and place unspecified]

[Text] Zayd Wahbah, the Fatah movement's political official in Lebanon, stressed that there were no political disputes within the Fatah commands on the Lebanese stage and pointed out that there were a number of styles of Fatah action in the course of the actual situation the Palestinian resistance is going through in Lebanon.

In an exclusive conversation which AL-WATAN held with him in the 'Ayn al-Hilwah camp, Wahbah added that Palestinian-Lebanese relations could not be confined to specific contexts and forms because they were the outcome of a common history, struggle, and coexistence.

Wahbah requested the chairman of the Amal movement, Nabih Birri, to work to guarantee freedom of movement and action and the return of the uprooted to all areas of the south, expressing his readiness to open the roads of the camps and share weapons with the Amal movement to fight the Zionist enemy.

Herewith is the text of the conversation:

[AL-WATAN] Where do the disputes within the ranks of the Fatah leaders on the Lebanese stage stand now? What is your current position within the movement?

[Wahbah] There are no political disputes within the Fatah leadership but there is a difference concerning methods of Fatah action on the Lebanese stage, which is a healthy, normal element in the ranks of the movement. However, we do not allow the limits of responsible organizational commitment in the context of the movement and its command to be exceeded. Our brother Abu 'Ammar, in spite of his political preoccupations, is personally calling for things and excesses which could be exploited for deadly political goals to be controlled.

As to my position in the Fatah movement, it is one of a member who is committed to the political resolutions and the execution of all that is desirable for organizational and military resurgence and the strengthening of Palestinian-Lebanese relations.

[AL-WATAN] You have recommended to the Amal officials in the south that they have a comprehensive meeting with Nabih Birri in Sidon, attended by Birri and Mustafa Sa'd. Does this activity lie within the program of your new course of action?

[Wahbah] Our call for a meeting with the head of the Amal movement, Nabih Birri, in Sidon, in the presence of the chief of the Nasirist people's organization, Mustafa Sa'd, is not new to our program, which is concentrating on firm political positions which we will not ignore no matter how vicious the implements of the conspiracy might be. These firm positions include:

- Palestinian-Lebanese relations.
- Relations in struggle with the Lebanese brethren.
- The continuation of our people's uprising in the occupied territories.

For this reason we have raised the thought of the meeting with Birri in Sidon because we are confident in ourselves and can put matters in their proper place and work seriously for the restoration of Palestinian-Lebanese relations to their former state. We have said "meeting" because we are liberated from any subordination and that is what we wish for the Amal movement, truly to represent the south. We have every confidence that Mustafa Sa'd will certainly be concerned with rightful demands, so that we can work to realize them with all possible speed. These include the guarantee of freedom to move and work for the return of uprooted persons to

all areas of southern Lebanon, opening of the coastal road between Sidon, Tyre, and Nabatiah, removal of all armed barriers on these roads, which are considered the main routes of passage toward Palestine, and getting a Lebanese force to take charge of carrying out the provisions of this program, which, in addition to the Amal movement, will include the Nasirist organization and the Islamic group. At that point we for our part will open the roads of the camps, our homes, and our offices to share weapons with Amal, and we will take them to the land of the south, in the direction of Palestine, in order to fight the Zionist enemy.

[AL-WATAN] In the framework of the Lebanese stage, how do you define the framework of Palestinian-Lebanese relations?

[Wahbah] It is not possible to confine Palestinian-Lebanese relations to contexts or forms. They are the outcome of a common history, struggle, and coexistence. However the Zionist forces might try to cause a clash between the two peoples, the masses' awareness has prevented and always will prevent the consummation of these conspiracies and realization of the goals desired from them. The relationship with the symbols of national action in Lebanon, foremost among them Walid Jumblatt, Mustafa Sa'd, Muhsin Ibrahim, and all national and Islamic forces, is only a formal embodiment of this permanent alliance which has been consecrated in blood.

These relations will not be influenced by the techniques of deception and the levelling of charges against us, through the settlement conspiracies and the undermining of security conditions.

Refugee Camp Residents in Jordan Discuss Intifadah

Al-Wahdat Camp Residents Express Views
44040094 Nicosia *FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH* in Arabic
30 Oct 88 pp 14-15

[Article by Majid 'Abdallah]

[Text] I intended to enter al-Wahdat Camp from Tal'at al-Misdar, where the building of the desert police still stands beside the main entrance of the camp. But the camp, which 2 decades ago used to lie withdrawn into itself to the left of the main line across from this building, has recently dared to stretch a band of modern buildings around it and has expanded noticeably during the interval.

In the car that carried me from the city center, past Tal'at al-Misdar, the desert [police], Shari' al-Nadi [Clubhouse Street], and then plunged me into the streets of the camp—still as narrow as ever—the driver said to me:

"It seems that the satellite transmitters located in the Arab world, including the much talked-about ARAB-SAT, still have not noticed that the favorite sports match of the Palestinians in these camps is the stone-throwing, rather than soccer."

He added: "But it seems they are afraid of the outcome."

My tour companion in the camp, Dr S., said to me: "We know that the world's television stations are devoting long periods of their programming to covering the events of the Intifadah. Many people who have visited different parts of the world have told me so. They express amazement at the amount of international coverage of the Intifadah. But our own stations bring us only a little of these events, sometimes no more than 1 or 2 minutes."

"Everyone here knows that the media play an important role influencing this Intifadah by their coverage. The media surrounding the occupied territory realize that they will supply this Intifadah with the fuel it needs, when this land in revolt sees the true picture of its revolt on the screen. The blood of Palestinians boils in their veins when they see a young girl from their people with her blood flowing onto the soil of Palestine."

A well-known athlete, who asked that his name not be mentioned, commented ironically on what was happening, saying, "May we be well at every Olympics!"

He added: "The Seoul Olympics are coming soon. What do you think will be the site of the new massacre that will be arranged for the Palestinians?" He put his hand on his heart and did not finish.

Finding our question strange, Hajjah Umm Khalil replied: "Do you think we are from the moon? Those who are being killed in the occupied territory are our people and our brothers. There isn't a family here that hasn't been afflicted by what is happening. May God repay the one who was the cause!"

Siham, a teacher, was rehearsing her students (girls) in a school play about the plots that had encircled the Palestinian people and its revolution since the beginnings of this century. In reply to our question, she said: "We must keep the cause alive in the minds of our children and young people. Despite its simplicity, this play that you see will generate a great deal of emotion in the mind of the Palestinians who participate in it or watch it."

She added: "I am sure that the Palestinian educational and cultural situation has played a large role in kindling the Intifadah over there. As long as Palestinians have a price on their head everywhere, it is important that we play our part in spreading awareness. Who knows where the next massacre will take place!"

This anxiety that keeps Siham awake at night is everyone's anxiety. Everyone here says, "One plot after another." They share the opinion of Hajjah Umm Jihad: "We don't cry, because we are storing up our tears for days to come." And: "We are storing up our blood, too."

Shaykh 'Abd-al-Karim, approaching age 70, says: "Who told you we don't want to revolt? But we want to revolt against our real and original enemy. When you try to hit your enemy and find someone standing in the way between him and yourself, your blow will hit that person before it hits your enemy. Experience has taught us to aim our weapons at our main enemy."

He added: "I am sure that the Intifadah will sweep away a lot of dust from this despicable Arab situation."

His son, Tahsin, interrupted and added: "And it will upset a lot of calculations."

In a small hut located on the southern side of the camp, I sat next to an old man. He asked me, "Do you know why all this is happening to us?"

"Why?"

"Because our leaders do not record their memories. Because the people are kept away from the battlefield."

I said, "This is a serious accusation."

"But it is true," he said. "I witnessed all the Palestinian revolts. I learned many prominent names in our Palestinian revolution, but I never heard of any of them recording what happened to them. Had our people been fully aware of what was happening, they would never have fallen into the mistakes of the past."

"In your opinion, what were the mistakes of the past?" I asked.

"Concealing the plots of the Arab regimes. They thought that by concealing them they were protecting their people from the tyranny and oppression of these regimes. But the result was the opposite; they protected these regimes from the revolt of their people."

"What should be done?" I asked.

"Yasir Arafat should uncover the cards of these regimes," he said. "He is the only one qualified for such a job."

While this aged old man worries about his daily bread, the officials worry about their palaces. In solidarity with this old man, one can say that the squadrons have their own way of getting the information through that might break the neck of the Arab regimes. They must carry out this role with absolute effectiveness, particularly at this time.

Have I said anything about al-Wahdat Camp?

The answer is no. The problems of this camp will go into another folder, to be opened after the folder of the Intifadah is finished.

Al-Buq'ah Camp Residents Express Views
44040094 Nicosia *FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH* in Arabic
30 Oct 88 pp 15-16

[Article by Majid 'Abdallah]

[Text] My companion, who was taking me around the streets of the camp, said to me, "This camp is located on the al-Buq'ah basin. Long ago, the basin was a large lake. When earthquakes formed the Rift Valley, the water of the lake seeped away into the lowlands of al-Ghawr." (The great Afro-Syrian Rift, extending from East Africa to North Syria, was formed in the third geological era.—editor)

I asked, "And can this blood boiling in people's veins seep away to the lowlands of al-Ghawr, and from there to Palestine, after the earthquake caused by the Intifadah?"

A young man in the young people's social center in the camp said to me: "Anyone who tells you that there is anyone in this camp who is not bursting with desire to support the Intifadah is lying to you. Whatever ideas people have, whatever organizations they belong to, they cannot forget that what is happening over there is happening to their sons and fathers and mothers. If human feeling has moved the entire world on the issue, what do you think it is doing to the people closest to the issue?"

He added, "You have to realize the sensitivity of the area where we are and the great pressures on us. We live in an emergency situation in this area. You doubtlessly understand the meaning of what I say."

Another young man said, "What prevents us from marching toward the bridges is that we don't want to give the Zionist enemy an excuse to repress our people's Intifadah more savagely. You know that any movement toward Palestine will be savagely repressed; and the Zionist will then compare himself with 'our relatives!'"

He added, "Surely you have heard today what happened to Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] in al-Yarmuk Camp. News leaked out to the residents that Abu 'Ammar had come to the camp, and within moments more than 30,000 people rushed into the streets and were carrying his car. What does this mean? It means that the Palestinian does not forget his affiliation to his revolution. The Arab rulers must realize that this revolution renews itself constantly and can arise in any place. Even if signs of quiet, tranquillity, and self-control appear on the Palestinian, he is a man inwardly engaged with his

revolution and cause. This inner engagement is fiercer than outward signs indicate. Heroes fight; they don't hang signs about fighting on their chests."

A third young man, on the fringe of the conversation, burst out with a short comment: "If there were no others in our Arab people but the half million who marched in the funeral procession of Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir], that would be enough to keep the torch of struggle burning. But I know that the number of those who marched in the procession was much larger than that."

A comment by an elderly man named Abu Hasan drew my attention. He said to me, "A few weeks ago, my son read me an exciting piece of news—preparation for the march of 1 million Arabs to Palestine to join in solidarity with the Intifadah. This is an important and serious step. It must take place. Write exactly what I say, 'I beg its organizers to carry it to completion. Even if it doesn't strip Israel naked, it will strip naked Israel's Arab watchmen. If the Arab states do not want to liberate Palestine, that does not mean that the peoples are silent. The march is important for awakening the Arab peoples.'"

He took a long puff from his cigarette and said, "I don't expect this march to liberate Palestine at one blow, but it is necessary. The Arab regimes must be stripped naked, before the Zionist regime."

As I passed through the streets of the camp, an old woman told me a story arousing scorn and disgust together. She said, "Before the Zionist sweep into Lebanon, my son was arrested and turned over to the intelligence department for several weeks without our being given any information about him. When I was given an opportunity to visit him, I stood with one of the intelligence men in the hall of the building. When the man saw that I was an old woman, he supposed that he could make a fool of me. So he said to me: 'Hajjah, if you had a neighbor, would you like anyone to disturb him with stones?' I immediately answered him, 'If this neighbor of mine had stolen my land, torn down my house, and sent me wandering, I would hit him with a shoe, not with stones.'"

During a short session at night in the home of an old comrade in the camp, one of the young people told the following for amusement: "After the events of September 1970, I was in a taxi on my way to the camp. In the car, there were several soldiers who lived in the villages near the camp. It was about 5 pm. This conversation took place between two of them:

"First soldier: 'Don't you want to get off at the camp?'"

"Second soldier: 'Am I crazy, to do that?'"

"First soldier: 'Why?'"

"Second soldier: 'If you go into the camp, [even] the blue demons don't know where you are.'"

This conversation took place at a time when the "blue demons" did not know what was going on in this camp. Who do you think was responsible for planting such ideas into the mind of two soldiers who had entered military service to liberate Palestine?

A resident of the camps said to me, "In the past, the excuse was that armed action had to take place inside the occupied territory, and then everyone would be for it. And what do you think is going on now inside the occupied territory? Why aren't those people taking their stand for this land that is burning under the feet of attackers? Or will even a statement of position disturb national security?"

An educated young man in the camp said to me, "The goal of the hostile forces in this area is to kindle Jordanian and Palestinian regional feeling. The small explosions that have been caused by well-known organizations in the town are a sure sign of the stirring up of this feeling.

"Certain opportunists and agents have discovered that the people in this area, Jordanians and Palestinians, are on the side of the Intifadah. This means that everyone will stand in a single front with the Palestinian revolution that has created this great Intifadah. This means that in the long run the rug will be pulled out from under the feet of this group of profiteers and exploiters. So no one should ask of this place more than it can give. We do not want to be rash tools in the hand of the hostile camp, which can abort the Intifadah by pushing us forcibly toward a clash."

The young man continued: "We must not forget the terrible brainwashing operations that have been practiced upon Jordanians in particular, to set them against the Palestinians. We must not underestimate it. So this area has to cook over the fire of slow struggle, until the dish we want is ready. This does not mean that Palestinians in this area have abandoned their duty to their people and cause. They have merely become more sensible in the way they look at things."

Before leaving the camp the next morning, as I was walking in the narrow streets, I saw Palestinian children doing countdowns. Throwing stones, slingshots, and other devices were familiar things that these children would have to know how to use well!

The Palestinian's sense of approaching danger makes him always capable of creating his own tools, for he realizes that the struggle is a struggle for existence.

But is this al-Buq'ah Camp? The other picture of the camp will come in another series of reports that will throw light on aspects of life in it. This picture, however, consists merely of thoughts on the edge of the Intifadah.

BAHRAIN

Country To Become a Trade Arbitration Center
44000216 Doha GULF TIMES in English
30 Nov 88 p 11

[Text] Bahrain: Bahrain is revamping its trade laws to set up a major arbitration centre with the aim of mediating in disputes between businessmen from all over the world.

Commerce officials say the government will launch an international advertising campaign for the project when new laws for handling foreign commercial disputes are ready.

"The commerce and legal affairs ministries are working together to draw up legislation," said Hassan Zayn-al-'Abidin, first vice-president of Bahrain's Chamber of Commerce.

"The arbitration centre will have its own framework but must work within Bahrain's commercial law," he said.

Arbitration is less time-consuming than going to court, he said.

Zayn-al-'Abidin said Bahrain would urge international law firms to set up on the island and would seek an internationally-known figure to be the centre's director.

"We are in the early stages now but would like to begin taking action within six months to one year—we must act quickly while the idea is still fresh in people's minds," he said.

Commerce Minister Habib Qasim said on Saturday the centre would be separate from another planned for Bahrain by the six-member GCC to handle trade disputes within the region.

In October 1987 members of the Euro-Arab Arbitration Congress meeting on Bahrain suggested the island when its plans to host a regional arbitration centre, and create a world-wide one as well.

"It is a good idea to have a seat of arbitration in a country in the developing world," said Fethi Kemiche, head of the Paris-based Euro-Arab Arbitration System.

EGYPT

Industry Minister Discusses Alternatives to Sale of Public Industries
45040112c Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
23 Nov 88 p 1, 2

[Article by Hasan 'Amir]

[Text] Minister of Industry Engineer Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahhab has announced that he does not approve of selling the public sector, but he is not against liberating it

from total state ownership and, at the same time, liberating the private sector from total ownership by individuals. He is in favor of selling quotas of shares in projects to workers in the public and private sectors. To those demanding the sale of the public sector, the minister said, "The investor wants a successful company and will not accept a losing company. We will not sell a successful company. Therefore, the investor must establish and add new projects." He said that he does not approve of the establishment of joint projects between the public and private sectors.

Speaking before the American Chamber of Commerce in Cairo, the minister said he fully approves of using the U.S. fund allocated for financing the sale of share quotas to workers. This has actually begun by financing the sale of share quotas to workers employed in the company for automobile tire production established by the private sector.

The minister said that the private sector has before it a long list of important projects to be established. An example, he said, was the new paper factory project which has been put before the Association of Businessmen in order to market it and promote it to Egyptian and foreign investors.

Eng Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahhab announced that during the past 2 years public sector production increased by 40 percent while the number of those employed in it decreased by 10 percent. He said that production in 1988 totaled 11 billion pounds, adding that there are 15 losing projects. The ministry of industry, he said, is preparing a bill that would make it compulsory for the public sector corporate bodies to establish a mutual financial and technical system that would give assistance to companies that face crises and difficulties.

Ummah Party Accuses NDP of Election Fraud
45040112a Cairo AL-UMMAH in Arabic 13 Nov 88 p 1

[Text] The ruling party has usurped all the local seats on the various levels, resorting to all types of fraud and forgery. It found it too much to leave ten lists for the Ummah party in six Cairo districts. It also deliberately and repressively caused the party to lose 12 individual seats in the al-Minufiyah, al-Sharqiyah, and Cairo districts.

Ummah Party leader Ahmad al-Sabahi announced that the party will enter all the coming elections, whether for the Shurah Council, the People's Assembly, or the local councils, regardless of the circumstances and obstacles.

Al-Sabahi said that elections are the ideal means of reaching the parliamentary councils and power.

Al-Sabahi called for reforming the existing elections laws and regulations in order to be consistent with democracy—whose praises are sung by the ruling party.

Ahmad al-Sabahi proposed that election laws should be standardized for all the councils on the basis of absolute proportional representation in the local elections in small constituencies, such as subdistricts and districts. These should be conditional upon 20 percent of all the valid votes on governorate level for both the People's Assembly and the Shurah Council in medium constituencies not exceeding three subdistricts for each constituency.

Al-Sabahi said that the current election laws that are tailored to suit the ruling party and are designed to usurp power and government are false democratic rituals, and that the regime that combines the two opposites—one that is essentially fascist and the other that is falsely democratic—is a strange regime that is acceptable to nobody.

Al-Sabahi added that with this strange system the ruling party has won the local council elections but lost itself, just like the spiteful one who wins a battle but loses himself.

Al-Sabahi said, "I bear witness but I level no accusations...I testify that the NDP's democracy is extremely lacking, just as the opposition parties' democracy is sometimes extremist in its demands and other times extremist in its passiveness."

Re-election of People's Assembly President Raises Questions

Unusual Number of Votes for NDP
45040086 Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic
16 Nov 88 p 57

[Editorial by Jalal al-Sayyid: "Al-Mahjub's Parliamentarianism and Dawud's Tadhkirah"]

[Text] The new parliamentary session had a hot beginning indicative of more heat to be expected throughout the session. Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, chairman of the Tajammu' Party [NPUP], opted for that beginning when he decided to run for Assembly president to keep in practice as he put it.

He was not content with the nomination per se and demanded a stringent voting procedure. He insisted that a ballot be placed before every delegate, one by one. The balloting took 3 hours instead of the customary 1 hour.

The results were fraught with question marks. Dr al-Mahjub received 370 votes. Considering that the National Party [NDP] has 365 delegates, some of whom did not attend the session, then Dr al-Mahjub must have won the votes of all NVP delegates plus votes from the opposition al-Wafd Party and possibly also from the NPUP.

Eng Ibrahim Shukri, opposition leader and chairman of the NPUP received only 48 votes!! The NPUP has 55 delegates, which means that Eng Ibrahim Shukri did not receive all his party's votes. Neither did he get al-Wafd votes. This would indicate he was tricked by al-Wafd, which previously agreed to the nomination and gave him verbal support to run. He received neither all his party's votes nor al-Wafd's.

The second heating up of the election procedure originated this time with Dr al-Mahjub in the address he gave before President Mubarak at the joint session of the People's Assembly and the Shura Council. The address was frank, perplexing, and as sharp as a sword. It saluted the era of Muhammad 'Ali, who conscripted the people to build a strong nation, then it saluted the July revolution which liberated citizen and motherland. It also saluted the leader of the crossing [of the Suez Canal]. So far, the address was running a natural course. Suddenly, al-Mahjub declared that there are those among us who live in the past and have estranged themselves from the present, who judge our present through the eyes of their past, then turn to us with thoughts of their past and with Dawud's book Tadhkirah, Dawud al Antaki [1599] who finds wisdom in abolishing the public sector, free education, and subsidies and in crushing the broad masses. These people are modern-day Dawuds who seek to cure the disease by killing the patient!!

That excerpt from Dr al-Mahjub's address puts forth frankly an obvious political error in opposition—nay, in open contradiction—to the view of some attendees of that same session.

The address became even more heated when he said that they had been penning lies. He said: "They falsify figures, ignore the truth, and deny progress in the delusion that destruction of the present means the return of the past. Something incapable of reviving the dead may help them get things off their chests. I say no to them. It is not proper to exceed the boundaries of being serious-minded to the extent that it defeats one's purpose.

Another frank viewpoint contained in al-Mahjub's remarks is that legislation is not a matter of whim or flight of fancy. He said: "It is not a victory for one class and a defeat for another. It is a commitment to the interests of society under the dictates of the times. It is a tool for liberation and evolution, a tool to enlighten and lay down rules, a tool to increase GNP and to support social freedom and security."

These are numerous and serious concepts heralded by al-Mahjub which raise issues and questions. What does this or that mean? Was he talking about this person or that one? The answer in every instance is: pick what you will, or go over the address again. It is worthwhile.

Assembly President Politically Resilient
45040086 Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 16 Nov 88 p 1

[Editorial by Musa Sabri: "Answer, Doctor!"]

[Text] I am perplexed about you, Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub!

Why are you a millstone around their necks, a thorn in their sides, a terrifying apparition that disturbs their sleep, and a terrible ghoul that frightens them and whose voice makes them quiver?

They poured dirt the size of a pyramid on you but you did not disappear. They threw enough at you to kill elephants but they did not even ruffle you. They heaped upon you lies, insults, and defamation that could have stained the driven snow but your voice did not waver and your statements did not change.

Today, after years of such barbarous attacks, they are sad and perplexed because delegates to the People's Assembly, including 40 opposition members, elected you president!

They wanted to blame you for the sins of others. They instigated those who would make malicious reports against you, in consort with pens that support the assassination of your character. You confronted all the arrows with a courageous heart. Arrows smashed other arrows but they still shout, sound off, and cry and scream and outdo each other wailing, lamenting, clamoring, and vociferating. You are the man of opinion who confronts them with the voice of faith and conviction. There shall be no return to a rotten past. There is no democracy without social justice, no economy without politics, and no life for those without shame. But they talk. What do they say? Let them talk!

They claimed that you are the assassin of democracy, but in truth you give the floor to the opposition before you give it to supporters. You respect the opposition's right to question and accuse. You are the arbiter of bylaws and the Constitution and you graciously skirt their pens and words. You have stayed your course and you will reach your destination. The boys, meanwhile, are having their delicate hands cut by the pebbles with which they intended to injure you.

What is your secret, Rif'at?

Is it that you are a man secure in his knowledge, stature, political expertise, and economic know-how? Or is it that you are neither a failure nor an impostor whose words, like the lines from their pens, fall like crumbs on the tables of the scoundrels?

What is your secret that escapes them? Maybe they know it but ignore it. God does not like infidels or hypocrites. God does not bless the unjust.

Answer me, doctor. What is your secret?

Government Inventories Cultivated Land Area
45040103a Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
9 Nov 88 p 4

[Article by 'Ali Sultan and Muhammad Jaballah: "Survey Reports Cultivated Area at 7.2 Million Feddans. All Governorates To Resurvey Within a Year"]

[Text] A survey of all cultivated land throughout the republic will be completed within a year, according to a statement by Engineer 'Isam Radi, minister of public works and water resources, before the Agriculture and Irrigation Committee of the National Democratic Party. He said the survey of cultivated land was completed in only one governorate, that of Asyu, where 14,259 feddans were found to have been missing from the 1973 survey. He asserted that the area of cultivable land in Egypt is 7.2 million feddans rather than 5.88 million feddans.

The committee had met under the chairmanship of Dr Ahmad 'Abd-al-Akhar and listened to a presentation by engineer 'Ali 'Abd-al-Rahman, head of the Egyptian Survey Authority, who stated that the area of cultivated land was calculated at 7.2 million feddans on the basis of an aerial survey. He added that he sent the survey of every governorate to the under secretaries of agriculture in the governorates and set deadlines for them to present their objections. Objections were received from only three governorates, whose differences with the authority were only of an administrative nature because the land is actually there.

The authority obtained 14,000 aerial photographs to help with its survey.

The survey revealed shortfalls of 6 percent in al-Gharbiyah Governorate, 2 percent in al-Qalyubiyah, 5.6 in Suez, 41.7 [as published] percent in Cairo, 4.5 percent in Asyut, and 8.05 percent in Suhaj.

The survey did not include the desert governorates of "North and South Sinai, the Red Sea, Marsa Matruh, and al-Wadi al-Jadid" in addition to the governorates of Suez, Ismailia, and Port Said.

Some committee members objected to the report of the head of the Surveys Authority and demanded a new survey to ascertain the actual size of the area, but Dr Nabil Muhammad al-Muwailhi, director of the Land and Water Institute, asserted that the institute's findings agree with the Surveys Authority report. He added that land of the first, second, third, and fourth categories were 5.88 million feddans in 1973, that cultivable arid land amounts to 60,368 feddans, and that there are 656,487 feddans of underwater arid land to be found in all governorates of the republic.

These two figures therefore validate the report of the Surveys Authority.

Eng 'Isam Radi, minister of works and water resources, pointed out that the reason for the survey was to find out what becomes of our share of Nile water.

The minister talked in detail about the level of Nile water from the time the shortfall began until it returned to normal.

He stated that the ministry will create a climactic center at the Ministry of Irrigation, to review satellite photos and early warning systems in cooperation with the United Nations, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the Italian Government.

Administrative Expert Team Finishes Final Draft of Workers' Law

45040112b Cairo WATANI in Arabic 20 Nov 88 p 1

[Text] A team of experts from the Central Department of Organization and Administration has completed reviewing the final draft of the workers' law and making the necessary amendments which President Husni Mubarak suggested in his speech before the People's Assembly and the Shurah Council.

The new draft law is to be referred to the People's Assembly after the cabinet statement is made before the assembly. The committee set up to study the law has finished drafting it preparatory to referring it to the committee on policies and before the cabinet endorses it.

The new draft law on wages provides for the first time for the amalgamation of all pay increases with basic pay, including the two recent social allowances. This amalgamation will lead to increasing incentives, additional wages, and allowances based on nature of work.

The draft law also raises the ceiling of the superior grade salary to 400 pounds as opposed to 216 pounds [per month], increases the starting and ending pay scale of all grades, and raises the amount of periodic increases for all grades.

Consequently, increase in the workers' pay will range between 15 and 30 percent, after the social allowance, the additional allowance, and the 20 percent allowance are added to it.

Periodic increases will be increased to 14 pounds.

Initial salary will become 70 pounds.

The amendments include the addition of an article linking periodic pay increases to increase in the GNP as a means of curbing inflation. If GNP increases by 10 percent, then salaries will be increased by 10 percent.

**Shaykh Sha'rawi Discusses Involvement
in Islamic Investment Company**
45040152 Cairo UKTUBAR in Arabic
27 Nov 88 pp 12-14

[Interview With Shaykh Muhammad Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi, Prominent Muslim Preacher, by Muhammad Mustafa, Manager of AL-SIYASAH's Cairo Office; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] By all criteria, the past few weeks' developments constitute a stunning surprise that has severely shocked thousands of citizens who had deposited their monies and, more importantly, their trust in imaginary banks called investment companies.

What is surprising is that the developments had been predicted by many people. But the overwhelming majority of those who deposited their money with these companies strongly refused to believe anybody other than the company owners. But after 8 November and at the end of the grace period given by the law to these companies' owners to settle their accounts, the issue exploded like a timed bomb.

Numerous clashing facts have emerged and even more numerous masks have fallen to expose disgraceful scandals. Perplexed fingers of accusation have pointed at numerous prominent figures, including prominent Islamic preacher Shaykh Muhammad Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi. His name has been included with the names of those accused by virtue of his well-known connection with one of the investment companies or, to put it more precisely, with the owners of this company. [passage omitted]

At a private meeting lasting more than 2 hours, I talked with the shaykh about the investment companies. This time, I did not feel at all embarrassed to ask the shaykh all the questions that occurred to my mind regarding the investment companies and regarding his personal relationship with al-Huda Misr Company, especially since some papers have reported the sums of money deposited in this company in the name of the shaykh's children and grandchildren and the license plate number of the car said to have been purchased with the depositors' monies for the shaykh's private transportation. The discussion touched on numerous points, the most significant and surprising of which was perhaps the shaykh's determined support for the experiment and his full agreement with all its objectives despite all that has happened. He said that those who waged the experiment made a mistake and gave people who attack the Islamic economy experiment the justification to launch a ferocious campaign against this economy. The shaykh also spoke of his solutions for the crisis, saying that those who have collected profits exceeding 70 percent of the value of their assets must have 50 percent deducted out of their deposits and those who have collected profits of less than

50 percent must be given the full remaining value of their deposits. He also said other things and paused at numerous important points during this dialogue.

I Have not Twisted Anybody's Arm

[UKTUBAR] To start, I said to Shaykh Muhammad Mutawalli al-Sha'rawi: Some people say that your eminence encouraged the experiment and that people followed you out of trust. What is your opinion?

[Sha'rawi] Have I twisted anybody's arm and told him: Deposit your money in this certain place and not that one? My activity is focused in the area of government-run official Islamic banks. Decisions were made to establish these banks which have been engaging in their activity. As for the investment companies, I have no connection with them.

[UKTUBAR] But your eminence, this does not negate the fact that you are one of those who encouraged the experiment, which means that you were aware of what was going on in these companies.

[Sha'rawi] What has happened is an experiment with which the people were happy. Every depositor collected his profits from the companies. Some depositors collected profits for a long time and got the equivalent of their [invested] capital. Tell me: By what right am I entitled to be familiarized with the details of these companies' work? For example, I only met Ahmad al-Rayyan recently when he came to my home to consult me on how to solve their company's recent crisis. As for Tariq Abu-Husayn, owner of al-Huda Misr Company, I have had with Tariq and his brothers a very long relationship which started before these companies came into existence.

[UKTUBAR] What, in your opinion, is the real cause of the crisis being experienced by the investment companies?

[Sha'rawi] The real cause of this crisis is the government's very late intervention. Not only this. The party which intervened late should have done so deliberately. The problem has its roots and they should have been taken into consideration.

Events Are Not Born Suddenly

[UKTUBAR] But you must have your own opinion of what is happening now, especially since the past few weeks have witnessed rapid and explosive developments. What is your view of all that is happening?

[Sha'rawi] What you are seeing now did not occur suddenly or overnight. Events are not born suddenly. There are numerous questions that must be addressed to the government. Where was government control in past periods and what is the government's position vis-a-vis what has happened? There are other questions I wish to

address to the companies' owners: Why do they fear government intervention to control their practices and actions? What scares these companies when the government intervenes to codify certain conditions, unless they are engaged in violations? But ultimately, the government is faulted for moving too slowly to control matters, thus allowing them to reach their present condition. The party lost among all these parties is the depositor who has organized his life on the basis of a fixed income. As long as the depositor goes to collect his "salary" [presumably meaning his profit] at each month's end, then this means that he is needy, not to say poor. If he were rich, he would leave the profit till year's end. But the depositor is also partly responsible. Thus, the depositor, the government and the companies' owners are responsible.

A depositor who fails to carefully select the means to manage his money is responsible. When you find such a collectively corrupt system and find that each party is blaming the other, then all are responsible, which is the case in what has happened. For all these reasons, I recommend clemency. If one finds a silk robe to which some thorns are attached, one does not have to pull violently to solve the problem but has to work gently and calmly to rid the robe of what has clung to it. This is the approach I recommend so that the depositor may not be harmed. But whichever investment company owner then tries to act fraudulently, let us cut off his head.

Witness to Authorization

[UKTUBAR] But fraud has already taken place, as evidenced by the monies smuggled abroad.

[Sha'rawi] How? How did this happen? Al-Rayyan came to my home and I pressed him to write a general authorization. He did in fact issue the Securities Authority and the Central Bank an unrestricted authorization empowering them to withdraw any of al-Rayyan's deposits in world bank. The authorization was recorded at the Registry Office and deposited with Dr Faj al-Nur. What I also know is that Ahmad Tawfiq al-Rayyan disclosed to these authorities the names of the banks to which his monies had been remitted and that he revealed all information connected with his accounts abroad. But it seems the government has other reasons to saddle the companies' owners with the entire responsibility. Al-Rayyan has responded to whatever the government requested. But it seems that some fear that the depositors will hold them responsible. As for Tariq Abu-Husayn, owner of al-Huda Misr Company, he has, on my advice, also brought back all his monies from abroad. On the occasion, I wish to tell all those who wonder about my role in the current phase that I have gone and talked to all the owners of these companies.

Observation: The Securities Authority rejected the authorization given by al-Rayyan because it absolves him of his evident responsibilities toward the depositors

and it transfers these responsibilities to the state even though he is the original culprit. Moreover, al-Rayyan has no credit accounts in the banks named in the authorization.

[UKTUBAR] But what about the monies smuggled abroad? Do you think that the monies available at home are enough to cover the depositors' monies?

[Sha'rawi] The indicators surfacing so far do not clarify a whole lot. The only way to make sure of things is by way of accountants. What I know is that the accountants themselves requested a few days ago that their work be extended for 5 days so that the assets may be checked completely.

Moreover, nobody can predict a specific outcome unless the preludes available to him are sound. Therefore, complete data must be gathered on these companies. When this data is proven correct and accurate, I can talk. But when we say at one time that a certain individual refuses to bring his monies back from abroad and another time that we don't know the size of the assets and a lot of other inaccurate things, it makes it difficult to talk about the issue now.

[UKTUBAR] But you have perhaps heard about the personal conduct of Ahmad al-Rayyan and of others—conduct which demonstrates the dimensions of the violations which took place in these companies.

[Sha'rawi] I consider all these issues relatively personal issues and I do not wish to discuss them. Generally, the investigations will verify true facts from false rumors.

[UKTUBAR] What about the report recently published by a newspaper about your relationship with al-Huda Misr Company, about your children's and grandchildren's deposits in this company and about exploiting their names to encourage others to deposit their monies with the company?

[Sha'rawi] My relationship with Misr al-Huda Company owners is very old. It started when the Abu-Husayn sons were young children whom I personally raised. The relationship then continued as a normal relationship. Why is the emphasis put on my grandchildren and not on tens of thousands of other depositors? The newspaper has said that my children and grandchildren deposited their monies with the company in return for very high profit rates. My response has been clear. Despite our relationship with the company owners, they deposited their monies with al-Rayyan because I wanted my relationship with Huda al-Misr owners to continue to be on non-profit bases. You cannot tell me that anybody can exploit my grandchildren's name to encourage others to deposit with his company. This was done only 4 months ago. Moreover, I have no grandson or granddaughter carrying the names mentioned by the paper. Besides, tell me: Is it the problem of companies or of depositors? The entire issue is no more than an issue intended to distort

my name. If any of the accountants has found anything to the contrary, then let him make it public. What I wish to assert is that my relationship with al-Huda Misr Company is out of old loyalty and meant to encourage an Islamic practice. I have frequently talked to and advised Tariq Abu-Husayn. My latest advice was to tell him to bring his monies back from abroad, which he has done. He no longer owns anything abroad.

[UKTUBAR] What about the car whose license plate number was published by the newspaper and which was said to have been used for your transportation even though it was bought with the depositors' monies?

[Sha'rawi] Al-Huda Misr Company used to consult me on more than one issue and this dictated frequent meetings between us. When a car came one time to take me to visit them, my first question was about that car's ownership and about whether it belonged to the company or was the private property of the Abu-Husayn sons. When I learned that it belonged to the company, my response was: Spare me any rides in this car. They later brought me a file containing a list of private cars belonging to them and I used those cars for my transportation to eliminate the slightest suspicion of undermining the depositors' monies. The number mentioned by the newspaper is the same license plate number of the car I refused to use. The allegation that the car was presented to me as a gift is groundless. I am always cautious out of concern for my dignity.

[UKTUBAR] What are your views of an acceptable solution to overcome the crisis?

[Sha'rawi] The depositors who entered as partners in the investment companies must realize that they became partners in silent-partnership or profit-sharing companies that win or lose and must accept the situation. Otherwise, why did they permit themselves to enjoy the profit? I will speak in simpler terms. What has happened is that an individual trusted another individual and gave him his money to invest. A third party has intervened even though the responsibility is shared by the first and second parties. The solution, as I see it, is that those who have been investing for 4 years have collected nearly the equivalent of their [invested] capital [in profits]—my opinion is that those who have benefited from the experiment and gotten more than 70 percent of their capital should have one half the profit they have collected deducted from their total deposit. As for those who have gotten less than 50 percent [of their capital in profits], they must be given their entire [deposit].

[UKTUBAR] Does your eminence believe that these developments will have their impact on the Islamic economy experiment?

[Sha'rawi] If we consider application from the angle of the people practicing the application, then this will, of course, affect the experiment. But if we consider the application itself separately from the corruption of the party practicing it, then the experiment will not be affected. [passage omitted]

The problem is not in the investment system but in how the investment is applied.

However, this should not stop me from saying that the people in charge of the investment companies have provided, either intentionally or through negligence, the opportunity to people lurking for the [Islamic] economic experiment. The rest of the developments should have been tackled without scandals so that the system may not fail, if the objective is to foil it.

I would like to add here something that may not justify what has happened⁴ but which demonstrates that every endeavor has its mistakes. All of us hear of the corruption and losses occurring in the public sector companies. Isn't this a government sector? Why hasn't the government intervened in this sector? Why hasn't the sector been abolished? The public sector is a private sector for those who profit from its losses.

Having said all this, the depositors must realize that they accepted the principle of profit and loss from the outset. The company owners must be totally honest because everything will be revealed, even if they don't wish it to be. The government must tackle the issue with the wisdom of a physician administering an anaesthetic prior to a caesarian.

In conclusion, I would like to tell you a short anecdote that demonstrates the nature of what is being said now. Al-Huda Misr Contracting Company was building my residence in al-Haram area. When the work proceeded too slowly, I withdrew the contract from the company. When the company came to demand an account from the engineers working on the residence, I told the company officials: The money you are speaking about does not belong to Abu-Husayn but to the company depositors. The Securities Authority accountants who examined al-Huda Misr records have discovered that the company still owes me an estimated 42,000 pounds.

After all this, we must not forget that all experiments are subject to tremors. You must have heard what is being said about the Islamic banks.

Mufti Expresses Views on Effective Islamic Society

45040077 Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic
2 Nov 88 pp 18-19, 59

[Interview with Dr Muhammad Sayyid Tantawi, Egypt's Mufti, by Tuhami Muntasir; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The rendering of religious legal opinion is as old as the Islamic call. At the dawn of Islam, the Prophet's companions and the Muslims sought the Prophet's religious legal opinion, may God's peace and prayers be upon the Prophet. Al-Rashidun caliphs followed the venerable Prophet's path. Those who came after them sought religious legal opinions from the ulema who rendered their opinion through the Koran and the

Sunna. This Islamic method extended and the rendering of religious legal opinion entered Egypt. We now live in an age which is different from recent and distant ages. In this age, all Muslims in Egypt and abroad need religious legal opinions that help them carry on with this life which has undergone numerous developments and changes which require enlightened religious legal opinions that keep pace with the spirit and requirements of the age.

For example, there are numerous social, political, religious, economic, art and life-style issues which we need to explain and clarify in order that the Muslim may not err and may not do that which is prohibited and which is in violation of the venerable Koran and the Sunna. There is what we call radicalism on the part of some youth. What are these ideas? What is wrong and what is right? There are the drugs, which some people say are not proscribed. What is religion's opinion? There are the insurance and investment companies. What is prohibited and what activities does the Shari'ah approve? There is theft. Is there a difference between stealing public property and stealing private property? What is religion's opinion on birth control, considering that it is, in view of the fearful population growth, a national necessity? There is the veil, the issue of rape, the issue of a single uniform for the universities and the issue of religious education at schools and at home. There is also the issue of al-Azhar and of the election or appointment of the shaykh of al-Azhar. All these are issues that require a pause and religious legal opinions from an enlightened clergyman.

This is why this interview has been conducted with His Eminence Dr Muhammad Sayyid Tantawi, Egypt's mufti. He has answered these questions and others objectively and comprehensively with mature and unfanatic religious thinking that befits the age and that contradicts neither the Koran, God's book, may God be praised and exalted, nor the Sunna of Muhammad, our master and God's messenger, may God's peace and prayers be upon him. In any case, the mufti has stated his opinion, expressing his agreement or disagreement with all the issues presented to his eminence by AKHIR SA'AH. Finally, here are his answers: [Dr Tantawi] [Passage omitted] Each country must have an official mufti who speaks on its behalf on religious affairs. When the mufti speaks in the name of the state, he expresses what he believes to be true and to be supported by God's book, by the Sunna of God's messenger and by the words of the pious predecessors because the rendering of religious legal opinion is, as we are aware, a trust. If rendering the trust is, as we know, a duty upon every man, then this duty is more incumbent upon and more binding to the mufti who may influence tens, hundreds or millions of people with his opinion. For his legal religious opinion, the mufti is accountable to God before being accountable to the people.

Mufti's New Office

[Muntasir] What were the issues President Husni Mubarak discussed with you during your recent meeting?

[Tantawi] The meeting with President Husni Mubarak concerned the mufti's office. The government is building the new mufti's office in a beautiful style that befits the status of the office. I met with the president to express the thanks of the mufti's office for the government's interest in constructing this building which will occupy a major part of al-Khalidin Park site in al-Darrasah. The building will cost nearly three million pounds and active efforts are now in progress to complete and inaugurate it by the end of 1989, God willing. The government will equip it with the most advanced international telescopes and viewing and communication equipment so that it may be the biggest and greatest mufti's office in the Arab and Islamic world and may befit Egypt's status as a heart that throbs with love and that glows amidst the Islamic nation with the light of knowledge and learning. I would like to note here that President Mubarak has been most generous and that he has promised me that the government will provide the necessary appropriations and financing immediately so that work on the mufti's office may not be interrupted.

[Muntasir] I asked his Eminence Dr Muhammad Sayyid Tantawi, the mufti, about interpretation [al-ijtihad] and about why it came to a halt after the four imams, namely: Malik, al-Shafi'i, Ibn Hanbal and Abu Hanifah al-Nu'man. Is the legacy they left us enough to solve our modern problems and issues which change, of course, with the change of life and of living conditions, especially issues such as insurance companies, investment companies and bank deposits?

[Tantawi] The fact is that, contrary to what you have said, interpretation has not stopped and will not stop. However, there is a difference between interpretation made by specialists and interpretation emanating from caprice. There is interpretation on recently-surfacing issues that did not exist in the Prophet's era or in the eras of the Prophet's companions or of those who followed them. The interpreter works according to the spirit of the Shari'ah and renders his religious legal opinion with the spirit of the Shari'ah. There is no issue for which there is no solution in the Islamic Shari'ah that determines if an issue is permissible or impermissible. If something is determined to be impermissible, then there is an alternative. The jurists must find the alternative to replace this thing which follows the impermissible path. The legacy left us by our ulema is an immense legacy abounding with wise scientific facets. We take from this legacy a lot that is beneficial to us in our religious and secular affairs. This legacy is based on God's book and on the Sunna of God's messenger, may God's peace and prayers be upon him. As for the new developments, such as the insurance and investment companies and bank deposits, the ulema have discussed them diversely, at length and in detail.

Regarding the insurance companies, for example, the ulema have rendered the religious legal opinion that cooperative insurance is religiously permissible because it is a form of cooperation between individuals and

groups. As for the other types of insurance, such as life insurance, the ulema have written good studies on them. Some of the ulema have prohibited life insurance because it is based on risk, meaning that it has no controls to steer or codify it.

Money Investment Companies

Regarding money investment companies, as long as they are not founded on speculation, then they are permissible, and nobody has said otherwise. Impermissibility develops if money investment firms swerve from their objective by engaging in monopolization or by acting in a manner that damages the state's economy or harms society. But (if the money investment firms observe their contracts and act with their clients in accordance with these contracts, which are profit-sharing contracts), then their profits are licit. Such companies become illicit only if they swerve from the straight path charted by the Islamic Shari'ah.

(His eminence the mufti went on to clarify the Shari'ah position on bank deposits, saying:)

Deposits are divided into two types. There are the deposits placed with Islamic banks, such as the Egyptian Islamic Transactions Bank, the Nasir Social Bank, the Suez Canal Islamic Transactions Bank and other Islamic banks. These deposits are based on licit profit-sharing and on profits because no specific amount [interest rate] or period of time is established. Profit is calculated periodically and it may amount to 5 percent for one period of time, 3 percent for another and 7 percent for yet another. As for deposits placed with banks for a specific interest rate, let us say 10 percent annually, the majority of ulema have rendered the religious legal opinion that this type is suspect, if not outright usurious. Some ulema say that profits generated by government-controlled banks are licit because such profits are spent on services. However, I support the former opinion.

Islamic Theory of Economy

[Muntasir] There are western economic theories and eastern economic theories. Where is the Islamic theory and how can this Islamic economic theory be put to use?

[Tantawi] The Islamic economic theory is found in jurisprudence books in a simplified and detailed form. [passage omitted] We make use of the theories of others, even if they are infidels, if these theories do not conflict with the ethics of our orthodox religion or with the Shari'ah of our God Who, may He be praised, has said: "If anyone desires a religion other than Islam, never will it be accepted of him and in the hereafter, he will be in the ranks of those who have lost." [Surah 3:85] God Almighty has spoken the truth.

[Muntasir] Then why don't the ulema, led by your eminence, work to draft an Islamic economic law that can be applied immediately, provided that it derive its articles from the core of the Koran and the Sunna?

[Tantawi] All this is possible, God willing. What we lack is research, examination and investigation. As we have already noted, most of these theories are found in the ancient and modern jurisprudence books. I believe that when the state turns to these theories and pays attention to them, all of us in al-Azhar, the religious trusts and the mufti's office will be fully prepared. All the ulema will offer the gist of their conclusions honestly, sincerely and with love for the country.

Cutting Off a Thief's Hand

[Muntasir] We daily read or hear the phrase "theft of public property." This theft assumes various forms. One time it takes the form of graft, another time it takes the form of embezzlement and a third time it takes the form of direct robbery. Because the punishment does not fit the crime, the criminal repeats his crime. What is a fair and deterrent punishment and what is the Shari'ah opinion on this issue, especially when we learn that the country is undergoing a crushing economic crisis?

[Tantawi] There is [no] doubt that the Islamic Shari'ah considers the theft of public property more criminal than stealing private property because public property belongs to all the nation's members, not just to one individual. When somebody steals public property, it is as if he has stolen from all the people. [passage omitted]

Theft and graft corrupt and damage the nation and society in its entirety. This is why I demand that the severest punishment be meted out to whomever is convicted of graft, embezzlement or theft. The punishment may vary from crime to crime. Jurisprudence books give the imam or the ruler the right to assess what constitutes a deterring punishment, depending on society's circumstances, especially when no specific provision exists in the Koran. The penalty for theft is, according to the word of the Koran, to cut off the thief's hand. As for embezzlement and graft, assessment of the punishment is left up to the ruler and depends on society's conditions. I have no objection to having a thief's an embezzler's or a graft taker's hand cut off openly in a public square if the ruler makes such a decision. It is my assessment that such a punishment will deter whoever contemplates unrightfully stealing the people's monies, be such a person a prominent man or a small man. Shari'ah makes no distinction between the two.

[Muntasir] Is the veil a religious duty required of every Muslim woman or is it just a duty or a desirable thing? Does his eminence the mufti see some excessiveness and sternness in this regard? May a veiled university female student refuse to reveal her face to a security officer or an examination supervisor?

[Tantawi] (Speaking with his customary frankness, his eminence the mufti said:)

I have no objection to the veil. The veil is a virtue if used by a woman for a legitimate purpose, such as modesty and decorum. This is something I like and support. But at the same time, I don't see the face as a defect. Therefore, I believe that if a university or another institution deems that security dictates require that a young woman enter the university with an unveiled face, then the young woman may not cling to her opinion. As long as she is at the university or in a certain job, she should respond to the person in charge and enter with an unveiled face. To the majority of the ulema, a revealed face is no defect. If a woman wishes to don the veil in the street, in her home or in public places, then there is no objection to this. Generally, the veil is a virtue and a woman may not be censured for wearing it. By wearing it, she seeks to be modest and decorous and she should be commended for this.

[Muntasir] Is it true that birth control is impermissible?

[Tantawi] Birth control is permissible, permissible and again permissible if there is a reason to call for it. This reason is assessed by the married couple. It may be a health, economic, social or psychological reason. As long as the married couple agree to plan their family because their circumstances dictate it, then there is no objection to and no offense whatsoever in such a step. [passage omitted]

Public Execution of Drug Traffickers

[Muntasir] Egypt is being subjected to a ferocious Tatarian assault aimed at destroying its youth with white poisons and drugs. How does your eminence view the dimensions of the catastrophe and of the plot and what is the deterring punishment befitting this crime?

[Tantawi] I admit that what the youth are being subjected to at present is a premeditated foreign scheme financed by those who hate and envy Egypt, who plot against our beloved Egypt and who lay snares and traps for our youth so that they may lose their way toward work, industriousness and excellence and may then join the ranks of workers to obstruct production, growth and development. These foreign plotters hope to see Egypt dying. This is an inaccessible dream and fantasy, God willing, because God guards Egypt with its religion, its ulema, its Koran and its youth. Therefore, we must take into our account that the circumstance is extreme. The campaign is ferocious and the assault is Tatarian and has no compassion or mercy in its heart. As Egypt's mufti, I demand that God's judgment be applied to the hardened criminals [drug traffickers] by executing them openly in a public square in the area where the trafficker importing the poisons, the trafficker selling them in retail and any middleman between them lives. The execution of 5 or 10 such people will solve the problem fundamentally. [passage omitted]

[Muntasir] Radicalism is a serious social malady that has infiltrated our society recently. What is the concept of radicalism? Was radicalism known at the dawn of Islam? How does radicalism enter the hearts of the youth?

[Tantawi] Radicalism means surpassing or exceeding what is in God's book or in His messenger's Sunna. This excess is rejected by all religions. Religion even rejects excessive acts of devotion, meaning that it rejects our burdening ourselves with that which goes beyond what God's messenger has asked of us. [passage omitted]

I do not support radicalism under any circumstance because it is incompatible with the Islamic Shari'ah which advocates facility and tolerance. Speaking of facility, the Koran says: "God intends every facility for you. He does not want to subject you to difficulties." [Surah 2:185] God also says: "God doth wish to lighten your (difficulties) for man was created weak." [Surah 4:28] God, may He be praised, further says: "He has chosen you and has imposed no difficulties on you in religion." [Surah 22:78]

We do not support radicalism in this sense of the word. We want our children, our youth and our women to follow the example of the Prophet's worship, behavior, word and deed. We want them to observe the ethics of Islam which God, may He be praised, explains to us in the Koran, saying: "Invite all to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching; and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious." [Surah 16:125]

(In his answer on radicalism, his eminence the mufti went on to add:)

But we want to set matters aright. Observing prayers is not radicalism. Observing religious duties is not radicalism. The beard in itself is not radicalism. Observing the ethics of Islam is not radicalism. Observing every word or deed that pleases God is not radicalism. The radicalism you mean is whatever swerves from the Prophet's Sunna, may God's peace and prayers be upon the Prophet.

Division of Radicalism and Radicals

[Muntasir] In the light of your meetings with the youth, can you categorize radicalism and radicals?

[Tantawi] It is relatively possible because the hearts are in God's hand, may He be praised, and because He alone knows the unknown. However, I can say that there are a large number of youth who do not lack goodwill, the right heart or a pure soul. What they need is to have the concepts corrected. When these youth learn what is right, they follow it. When they find an honest adviser, they follow him. These are the youth whom we are trying to lead to the straight path of goodness in the manner God has commanded us to employ. I and the minister of

religious trusts have, through our tours in Egypt's governorates, achieved, with God's help, solid success in this regard. The results are reassuring and they promise all that is good.

On the other hand, we find a radical minority who thinks that it is right and that others are wrong. This is one of the radicals' faults. They think that they alone, to the exclusion of all others, are the masters of learning and jurisprudence and the sole custodians of Islam. This is a grave error. These people are troublesome because they do not listen and they do not wish to understand the true nature of their ignorance and of their souls. They are convinced of a certain ideology and they do not wish to abandon it. These people are, as I have already noted, a small minority. I beseech God to grant me and them guidance.

[Muntasir] Where do these radicals derive their ideas and where does Ibn Taymiyah truly stand between moderation and radicalism?

[Tantawi] The radicals derive their ideas from people whose learning, judgments and theories are not trustworthy because these people bear in mind one thing and disregard numerous others. Their knowledge of the Koran and Sunna sciences and of the principles of jurisprudence is not deeply rooted. These people have focused on a certain kind of sciences and ignored others. The radicals derive their ideas from [religious] emirs who have been appointed by nobody but who have appointed themselves. The radicals should derive their ideas and the rules of their religion from ulema attested to be scientifically qualified and pious. It is their duty to read not just one book but, like reasonable people, a number of books on the same subject because diverse and wise reading ultimately leads to the truth.

(Regarding Ibn Taymiyah, his eminence has said:) The truth is that I revere Ibn Taymiyah and believe that he is one of the imams endowed by God, may He be praised and exalted, with numerous sound talents. Ibn Taymiyah is a revered imam and whoever attributes radicalism to him is a man who is ignorant of what Ibn Taymiyah wrote or who misinterprets Ibn Taymiyah's writings. The fact is that Ibn Taymiyah is a human being and may err or may hit the mark. However, the truth is that many of his opinions are right. The fault lies with those who interpret his words. Ibn Taymiyah was an ulema who fought falsehood with his sword and his tongue.

[Muntasir] Some people who consider themselves clergymen, such as some of those who memorize and recite the Koran, smoke hashish, believing that it is not prohibited by a Koran provision. What is the decisive rule of the Shari'ah on smoking and using hashish generally?

[Tantawi] Those who use hashish on the pretext that, unlike alcohol, God's book contains no provision prohibiting it are ignorant because neither hashish, opium nor any of the other drugs existed in the Prophet's era, in

the era of the Prophet's companions, in the Umayyid State or at the outset of the Abbasid State. [passage omitted] Imam Ibn Taymiyah, may God be pleased with him, who fought in the Tatarian war in Syria was a jurisprudent who prohibited hashish in the strongest possible terms. [passage omitted] Ibn Taymiyah saw that hashish and opium would corrupt the army and cause the Muslims to be defeated. Consequently, he issued his strong ruling to protect the Islamic army. Whoever says that hashish is not prohibited is either ignorant or ill willed. Because these narcotics did not appear until six centuries after the Prophet's death, no provision prohibiting them was revealed in the venerable Koran. [passage omitted]

Imam Permitted Purposeful Art

[Muntasir] Art is one form with which man's taste is elevated. Art is amusement, enjoyment, education and persuasion. But some people divert art from its real purpose and content to triviality and destruction, i.e. to destroying people's tastes and concepts. Is religion opposed to art generally or is there a permissible art, a prohibited art, a detestable art and so forth?

[Tantawi] The gist of what can be said on this issue is that Islam is a religion of facility, not difficulty and of learning, education and not of meaningless sternness, censure, chaos, ignorance and triviality. It is not I who says that Islam is a religion that urges recreation. The venerable Hadith says: "Recreate the hearts hour after hour because when the hearts tire, they turn blind." We live in an age abounding with anxiety and concerns and man needs recreation and entertainment from time to time, but with a purposeful art and not with base and brazen art. It is proven that the Prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, was jocular. But he only spoke the truth. Jest is not bad as long as it does not exceed the bounds of honesty, reason and ethics.

Art is divided into two parts: An art which I encourage and support. This art encourages noble characteristics and virtues and stirs in the hearts the love of country and of noble traits of character while discouraging vice. This is the art we encourage and advocate. Generally, we encourage all plays that advocate national progress and noble traits of character.

As for the art that contradicts the religious ethics and noble characteristics, that corrupts taste and morals, that provokes the instincts of the youth and exposes them to naked scenes one time, to kissing another and to verbal insinuation a third time, this is a base art which we do not condone, which neither God nor His messenger like and which contradicts the Shari'ah. I beseech God to lead the men in charge of art to what refines morals and encourages virtues instead of this deterioration and this baseness. I beg and beg again those in charge of the media, led by brother Minister Safwat al-Sharif and esteemed sister Samiyah Sadiq, to take a serious and sincere look at the programs offered the youth and the

children and to permit only those programs that please God, may He be praised, and that educate our children. They are accountable to God for all this on the day of resurrection.

Home and School Are Base of Education

[Muntasir] Where does the Islamic education process begin and what are its phases? What is your assessment of the religious education method currently employed in schools?

[Tantawi] Islamic education is a process shared jointly by the home, the school, the factory and society. In fact, we do not lack awareness of what is right and virtuous. What we lack as a society is embracing and defending what is right. Everybody knows what is permissible and what is impermissible. What is permissible is obvious and what is impermissible is obvious and there are [no] similarities between the two. Education begins at home. [passage omitted]

The share of religion and of religious education [of the budget appropriations] calls for sadness and grief because those who have made religious education at school a non-basic subject were not rightly guided. I believe that when esteemed brother Dr Ahmad Fathi Surur reads these words, he will immediately decide to restore soul to the schools and awareness to the students' minds. I believe that he will restore to religion its share of dignity and status among the other sciences. He is a noble teacher and he is aware of the significance of the verse:

Improved education alone is useless, unless crowned with high morals.

I believe that when the faithful teacher who teaches religion out of conviction, and not just as a job, is found, then the schools will truly turn into educational institutions because the teacher will provide the good example to his students, leading them in prayer, guiding and teaching them. At this age, students respond quickly.

Single Uniform Is Must for University

[Muntasir] Your eminence, a question has just occurred to my mind regarding coeducation at the university, regarding the fashion parade which is incompatible with the sanctity of the university and regarding the political activities of some students. What is religion's position on all this and what is required of a student seeking university education?

[Tantawi] By God, brother, all this does not befit the university. The people in charge of the universities must establish at least a minimum limit for all this. Coeducation per se at a single lecture hall is irreproachable. But what prevents the male students from sitting on one side and the female students on the other instead of having male and female students sitting almost glued to each

other because of overcrowding in the halls. I believe that each professor should determine this in his own class. As for the female students' dress styles, I personally implore God to protect us from this aspect. It does not befit the dignity of education and of lecture halls to have a female student enter such halls nearly naked, thus arousing her colleagues, attracting attention and distracting some students with this ugly sight from following and benefiting from the professor's lecture.

Therefore, I don't know why the universities have not to this time taken a decisive position toward such people and why they have not established a minimum limit for such laxity and such nudity at the university. I have already told you that a school or a university is an educational institute not a fashion-show or a corruption institute. I urge the gentlemen presidents of the universities to study the question of a single uniform as a minimum solution to this problem. This is what God has commanded us to do. God has denounced exhibitionism and advocated modesty.

As for the question of neglecting studies for politics at the university, my personal opinion is that it is a waste of time and a deviation from the university's message. It behooves the student to work industriously and learn so that he may become an outstanding engineer, nuclear scientist, space scientist, physician, trade expert or economist in order to serve his country, his people and himself.

[Muntasir] Dr Muhammad Sayyid al-Tantawi was a professor at and a dean of al-Azhar University before assuming the office of mufti. Now that 27 years have passed since the development of al-Azhar, what is your eminence's assessment of this experiment and what, in your opinion, are its positive and its negative features?

[Tantawi] I personally don't think that development is wrong. There is nothing wrong with development in the sense of introducing scientific disciplines such as medicine, engineering and agriculture which we most urgently need. The fault, the entire fault, lies in the fact that we followed with the development a path incompatible with the straight path and with the noble objective sought by the development. However, the development introduced into the venerable al-Azhar is not a development revealed by the wise and praiseworthy power above. When there is goodwill and true resolve, we can embrace whatever development suits us and discard or leave alone any development that does not suit us. I recall that I was enrolled in higher studies when the development issue was raised in 1961. I and a number of colleagues debated our professors on some of the flaws which we believed distorted that development. One professor raised a copy of the Koran and said: Listen, sons. This Koran is the only book that cannot be developed. All the other matters raised in the development issue are subject

to give and take, addition or omission. The venerable Koran is immortal and will remain forever free of development because it alone is revealed by the wise and praiseworthy power above.

This is why I tell those who blame the decline of al-Azhar students' standard on the development: You don't understand the issue. Development is not the culprit. If we wish to restore to al-Azhar its glory, munificence, prestige and usurped dignity, we must pay attention to village and town schools that teach memorization of the Koran so that they may be the initial factory supplying the raw materials to the second factory. A student must memorize at least one quarter the Koran before he enrolls at al-Azhar, provided that he memorizes one half the Koran in the secondary school stage and finishes memorizing it during the college phase. This is on the one hand.

On the other hand, I will thrice repeat that the college textbook has turned into a profitable commodity from which the professor makes vast sums of money. Every year, the professor rearranges the pages of his book, putting some forward and some backward, and offers a feeble textbook at prices which the student cannot afford. I tell such professors: Fear God for the sake of education and of the students. I tell every college dean: Gather the section heads and instruct every section to write a textbook to be taught to the students without a change for at least a period of five years. Here is where restoring what has been corrupted in al-Azhar begins.

I Reject Election of Shaykh of al-Azhar

[Muntasir] Two ideas raised are the idea of electing the shaykh of al-Azhar and that of appointing him. Which idea do you support, and why?

[Tantawi] I previously expressed my viewpoint on this issue. I personally believe that if we embroil the office of shaykh of al-Azhar in the maelstrom of elections, we will encounter currents, hostilities and the weak human soul. For these reasons, I do not support electing the shaykh of al-Azhar. My opinion is, and I might be wrong, that appointment is the sound approach. I base my opinion on the coalitions and conflicts I see in the election of college deans—an occasion when one encounters farces unbefitting the dignity of the universities or of the professors. All I ask of the official with the power of appointment is that he exert a serious effort to select the person whom he believes is honest and fit for the office and who will perform his duty in the manner commanded by God and that he steer clear of caprice and injustice in making the selection.

Doing Ulema and Podiums Justice

[Muntasir] The call is faltering in Egypt. How can we restore the call's glory in the country of the venerable al-Azhar?

[Tantawi] I agree with what you say. The podiums are bemoaning their condition to God. We must reevaluate matters and we must provide the enlightened Muslim preacher who is capable of making the right offers. This is the duty of the government and the Ministry of Religious Trusts and, primarily, of the ulema of the venerable al-Azhar. We must also restore to the ulema their status in everything, must honor them, care for them and encourage them so that people may not flee the path of the call by virtue of its being a path that does not yield the preachers enough to enable them to live an honorable life. Otherwise, the ignorant and the semieducated will climb the podiums to ruin people's minds.

[Muntasir] Finally, how do we rebuild the bridges of trust between the youth and the ulema?

[Tantawi] The trust is, in fact, partially lost. However, partial trust still exists between the youth and the ulema and we hope that this trust will develop and grow. I do not agree with you that this trust is generally lost. If the youth lose their trust in the ulema, then this would truly be the big catastrophe. We beseech God to protect us from such a thing and implore Him to give our sons guidance and success and our dear Egypt power and prosperity, amen.

Shaykh al-Azhar Criticized for Performing Worldly Functions

45040120b Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 30 Nov 88 p 9

[Article by Salah 'Azzam: "Islamic Issues: Shaykh al-Azhar and Words Spoken for the Truth"]

[Text] It is an unquestionable fact that al-Azhar, at least to us Egyptians, is tantamount to our imam and our hope. To us it is a symbol that we revere and respect. But if we should ever be critical of the institution or extend advice to it, we would be doing so out of our affection for the institution and our appreciation for it.

Because what I am about to say is actually happening, it is my hope that it will restore to al-Azhar the prestige and awe inspiring position it enjoyed in the past not only with us, but also everywhere in the world throughout the ages!

But that cannot happen unless we go back to our great traditions, changed for the better, not the opposite.

There are, for example, new practices in al-Azhar which were introduced "to maintain agreement with" some circumstances. Saying this would be better than having people talk about it in their gatherings. That's all! It is my hope that these practices be brought to an end. Some of these practices, to cite just a few, are:

- Having Shaykh al-Azhar lay the cornerstone for a religious institution along with a number of directors or higher ranking officials is something we never heard of before.

- Having Shaykh al-Azhar attend celebrations and study groups all the time is something that is unheard of with our former shaykhs of al-Azhar.
- This new "protocol" which has been introduced has the shaykh of al-Azhar and the imam attending receptions and circulating among visitors and individuals attending conferences. As far as the imam is concerned, this "protocol" has to be forgotten. Listen to the fury of a scholar who loves Egypt and al-Azhar and read about his anger. This scholar, who is from an Arab country, tells me that he traveled around the world and has never heard of the pope leaving his residence in the Vatican to greet a guest at the airport or attend a study group. The pope's deputies perform these functions. In fact, the world's notable figures and leaders are the ones who go to the pope to greet him and to inquire about him.

To the world's Muslims the position of Shaykh al-Azhar is greater than that of the pope to his Roman Catholic people.

That Arab scholar goes on to say that he observed ceremonies held at celebrations and receptions in the Arab world, and he did not see al-Shaykh Baz or any mufti in any Arab country perform functions similar to those performed now by the shaykh of al-Azhar.

It is with the affection and sincerity that I feel for him that I ask the shaykh of al-Azhar to replace this practice, which is new to al-Azhar, with an old practice that would also be new. I am asking him to take the pulpit of al-Azhar every now and then and address the people. I am asking him to tell them what religion has to say about their issues. I am asking him to bring back the afternoon sessions in which he would talk to the people about their affairs and about their occasional differences. I am asking him to restore to the board of senior scholars its glorious past, and I am asking him to meet regularly with members of that board to talk about our nation's issues and about differences in our points of view.

If any other functions have to be performed, other senior officials can perform them more than adequately.

Columnist Derides Al-Rayyan as 'Tragic Hero'
45040103b Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic
10 Nov 88 p 12

[Article by Dr Fathi 'Abd-al-Fattah: "In Defense of al-Rayyan"]

[Text] It is really amazing these days that some people are perplexed by simple basic facts, violently scratching their heads, stunned at rediscovering these facts as if they were unexpected, then cry in amazement. It is truly a giant rampaging elephant. It is certain as they make this important discovery that yesterday and the day before yesterday they beheld that giant elephant as if it were a small gentle dove or even a melodious singing nightingale.

Simply put, that serious confusion and mix-up in the public mind could have only occurred after exposing that mind to deliberate and concentrated waves of brain-washing and tremendous number of smoke screens to eliminate or reduce correct perceptions so that a mouse becomes an elephant and some would look upon a destructive elephant as a tiny nightingale.

I was truly amazed to see so many people in a state similar to shock when bitter and painful facts were revealed about the so-called investment companies, and especially after a steaming, dramatic confession by one of their heroes, or rather the hero of heroes, 'Abd-al-Fattah al-Rayyan.

Because I was never at any time among the legions of the deceived or of the beneficiaries, and because I recognized an elephant the moment I laid eyes on it, I pause to study this phenomenon in a sincere attempt to understand its causes and motivations.

Throughout the past 4 years, since I started writing again in AL-JUMHURIYAH, I shouted every so often to warn against these rampaging elephants and the total waste they cause, not only to the national economy but also to all honorable social values.

The truth is that I paused before the unmemorable statements made by al-Rayyan at his meeting with the prime minister to realize that I was facing a story or a theatrical character delivering a wonderful monologue expressive of the depth of this serious tragedy that we experienced with this legendary personality.

Let us relieve that monologue together:

"I am a con-man, a thief, and a son of a bitch. I made fools of you. The company does not have a single cent in funds. What overseas funds are you talking about? I don't have a single cent abroad.

"Could anyone but a swindler realize profits of 20 or even 30 percent?

"There were gentlemen who made 40 percent. I am therefore no swindler.

If you want to put me in jail, go ahead."

Could Shakespeare have done better in characterizing Shylock, the Jewish merchant of Venice who traded in human flesh?

The same cries were uttered by Shylock in the final act of the play after he was unmasked in court, he lost his fortune, his daughter ran away, and he lost the pound of human flesh for which he made a deal: "You are to blame, gentlemen, for pushing me into this."

Compare the al-Rayyan monologue with the words of the devil Mephistopheles at the conclusion of Faust by the German writer Goethe:

"You chose your own path and have no right to remorse."

Let us return to our Egyptian hero whose performance surpassed those by dramatists here and elsewhere.

Let us pause at this phrase: "Could anyone but a swindler realize profits of 20 or even 30 percent? There were gentlemen who took 40 percent. I am therefore no swindler."

Let us subject that statement to all technical and literary critique standards for character analysis. In reality, the Egyptian tragic hero points two facts out to us.

The first fact is that those whose profits exceed 20 percent of capital move beyond our concept of the capitalist investor to that of the swindler and con artist.

By so saying, he states an objective fact that has the consensus of economists throughout the world. The margin of profit for any productive investment falls between 10 and 20 percent. Anything in excess of that can only be gotten by other and illegitimate means such as smuggling, trading in narcotics or arms, black marketing, or stock exchange gambling and speculation commonly called economic adventurism.

Al-Rayyan means by his statement that he is not the only swindler. He accuses of swindling all who joined him in that game either by defending the concept of investment companies and their operations or by contributing funds to these companies knowing full well this kind of profit was not possible.

We must admit that the al-Rayyan character has expressed an objective truth in total honesty and in harmony with the natural flow of things.

Much as any other tragic hero who sees his entire structure collapse after his delusions are uncovered, he makes a collective confession in which he connects the private and public elements that caused the collapse of the entire phenomenon.

The second truth he uttered was: "Some gentlemen even took 40 percent. I am therefore no swindler."

By so saying, our hero adds an important and serious dimension and reveals a deeper tragedy—there are those who swindle swindlers. This is a more serious and developed stage. Those whom he called "gentlemen" are no doubt a special privileged group which not only participated in the game but also doubled it and invested in it twice.

That privileged group must have enjoyed special characteristics and positions that elevated it to this lofty status of "double" swindling.

We can imagine, from the words of the hero, what characteristics or descriptions fit those gentlemen who made 40 percent or more.

They must have been influential.

They must have occupied effective positions capable of expressing and imposing their will, especially within the sphere of activity of those companies.

They must have helped those companies with incredible secret facilities in return for that exorbitant levy they exacted from the master swindlers themselves.

Here, the al-Rayyan character leaves no room for ambiguity or misunderstanding. It clearly accuses a specific group whose social profile we endeavored to present. It now remains to identify and flesh out these characteristics into names and personalities that must be revealed to the masses before this expert and professional group moves to bury the whole affair, especially if some of its number are still in positions of influence and power.

Frankly, unless we seek out and destroy this nest of wasps, it would be capable of producing a thousand other al-Rayyans in more perfect forms who are more exploitive and worse swindlers.

The final cry by our frightening tragic figure was: "If you want to put me in jail, go ahead."

Contrary to many other analyses, I see in that a final warning to beneficiaries, supporters, and the group of "gentlemen" before the sinful devil Mephistopheles terminates the life of Faust. Here, the maestro calls upon all who secretly played in his orchestra.

I have endeavored to apply a learned approach of literary critique to the statements of this most notorious tragic figure expressing the most serious tragedy afflicting Egyptian society in its entirety, endangering its security, economy, and all its values.

Journalist Solicits Pope Shinudah's Help To Close Liquor Stores

45040120a Cairo AL-NUR in Arabic 30 Nov 88 p 1

[Article by al-Hamzah Di'bis: "My Appeal to Pope Shinudah"]

[Text] I read an article in last Friday's AL-AKHBAR about "The Story of Liquor Stores in Bani Suwayf." That was the title of the article which stated that "The governorate shut down the liquor stores, but the court opened them. The people are wondering, 'What is the solution?'" After reading the details of this article, I realized that the solution was with Pope Shinudah.

AL-AKHBAR stated that the governorate of Bani Suwayf had decided to shut down all distilleries and liquor stores in all the cities and villages in the governorate. Major General Muhammad Husayn Madyan, the governor of Bani Suwayf, said that he had made that decision to protect religious values and moral principles since he was the official responsible for security, morals, and regulating society's impulses. AL-AKHBAR went on to say that Maj Gen Muhammad Husayn Madyan had affirmed that the decision he made stemmed from the foundation upon which our country was built. The masses complied with the governor's decree out of their concern for public morals and in obedience to Almighty God's commands. God Almighty forbade the consumption of liquor which He considered a grave offense.

AL-AKHBAR then went on to investigate the matter from the beginning. It stated that Mr Muhammad Labib, the previous governor, had issued a decree shutting down these places, but the owners had challenged the decree in court. AL-AKHBAR stated that in 1983 the Administrative Court had ruled in favor of the liquor store owners. The court nullified the governor's decree closing down these stores and cancelling their licenses because the governor's decree violated the Commercial and Industrial Stores Act, Law No 453 for 1954.

AL-AKHBAR added that the new decree issued by the present governor was issued in accordance with the Local Rule Act which allows governors to remove or delete from the tables attached to the law the names of some stores which are mentioned in those tables. Governors are allowed to do that because they are responsible for security, morals and public values. But the owners of these stores challenged the new decree, and the case is still pending in administrative court.

AL-AKHBAR went on to describe the condition of Bani Suwayf's residents, who rejoiced over the governor's decree and felt confident that their streets would be free of drunks and rowdy people. Afterwards, they hoped that the owners of these stores would comply with the governor's decree. Now, however, they have a wait-and-see attitude. They are hoping that these people would get involved in other businesses and activities that are permitted by religion.

AL-AKHBAR asked His Eminence al-Shaykh 'Ali Sha'ban Mayhub about this matter. Al-Shaykh Mayhub, who is director general of the Religious Trusts Administration in the governorate, affirmed that Islam forbids the consumption of alcohol. I asked His Eminence Father Ithnasia, bishop of Bani Suwayf and al-Bihinsa about that, and he said, "Alcohol is disdained and intoxication is rowdy! Anyone who staggers under the influence of alcohol is not wise. Woe to him who gives his brother a glass of liquor. Liquor is detestable." Then he added, "Liquor affects the mind and weakens the will." He indicated that many communities were putting

up a strong resistance to liquor and narcotics. Communities are even resisting smoking. Father Ithnasia called for stiffening the penalty for alcohol consumption.

AL-AKHBAR asked Pastor Bakhum 'Atiyah about the matter, and he said that alcohol leads to poverty. The Bible says—as does Pastor Bakhum—that "The drunk and the profligate shall be impoverished." Pastor Bakhum added that the religious law in the Old Testament called for drunkards to be stoned to death." Mr Kamal al-Lam'i, legal advisor to the governor justified the governor's decree from a legal standpoint.

In exploring the aspects of the problem AL-AKHBAR mentioned that the decree to shut down these stores involved 14 stores in Bani Suwayf, Biba, al-Fashn, Ihnasiya, al-Wasti, and Nasir. The stores are distributed as follows:

- 6 stores in Bani Suwayf.
- 4 stores in Biba.
- 1 store in each of these centers: Nasir, al-Wasti, al-Fashn, and Ihnasiya.

The newspaper added that all the owners of these stores challenged the decree. These people are: 1. Fathi Sa'd Musa 2. Istiliyu Fikri Khalil 3. Luis Ilyas Jirjis 4. Labib Ishaq Salib 5. Simun Hanna Baskharun 6. Matildah Malak Sidrak 7. 'Ubayd Sa'dallah Salib 8. Sayyid 'Abd-al-Latif al-Laythi 9. Majla' 'Abd-al-Malak Butrus 10. Shihatah Hanna Barsum 11. Hanafi 'Ali Mustafa 12. Jamal Jadallah Ibrahim 13. Fayiz Mahrus 'Ibayd 14. Muhammad Tawfiq.

AL-AKHBAR asked some of these store owners about their businesses, and they said that they had inherited the business from their fathers and grandfathers. They said that the Ministry of Agriculture was supplying them with the liquor from one of its companies, the Egyptian Distillery and Vineyards Company. They said that this activity was permitted by the state throughout the country. AL-AKHBAR came to the clear conclusion that other methods are required for solving this problem. Foremost among these methods for finding a solution is amending the law which regulates the business of commercial, industrial, and public stores in general and the business of selling and manufacturing liquor in particular. AL-AKHBAR reached that conclusion after Dr Jamal al-Din Mahmud, counselor-at-law and secretary general of the Supreme Council for Islamic Affairs, determined that the fault was in that law. Dr Jamal al-Din Mahmud attacked the veracity of the excuse that liquor was a factor in promoting tourism. He indicated that there was no difference between Muslims and non-Muslims in their disdain for alcohol because, as he said, the social fabric in Egypt is one and the same, and Egyptian traditions, which have been securely established over the years, are derived from Islamic moral traditions and from the traditions of Christian virtue.

We thank him who wrote that article in AL-AKHBAR for his splendid effort in presenting the problem. We thank Mr Sa'id Sunbul, the newspaper's editor-in-chief, for his fine exposition of the matter, and we thank Dr Jamal al-Din Mahmud for giving society insights into the root of the problem. But first and foremost we thank Maj Gen Muhammad Husayn Madyan, the governor of Bani Suwayf, for his decree.

In keeping with the solutions which were suggested by the editor of this article, I am appealing to Pope Shinudah, the patriarch of Alexandria and all Copts, and I am asking him to use his religious influence on the one hand and his paternal or papal authority on the other to persuade 10 of the 14 store owners to withdraw their challenge to the decree issued by the governor of Bani Suwayf. That decree is trying to establish the principles which were called for by our Lord, Muhammad, the son of 'Abdullah, may God bless him and grant him salvation. Before him our Lord Jesus Christ, may God bless him and grant him salvation, had called for the same principles. Such an action by Pope Shinudah would be a splendid patriotic action for which all Egyptians, Muslims and others, will remember him. Besides, it would be a religious service. It so happened that in the three articles preceding this one I was looking for references to liquor in four books of the Bible! I reported what Pastor Bakhum 'Atiyah had said. Pastor 'Atiyah said that Jesus Christ had warned his disciples about liquor, telling them that "No drunkards shall inherit the Kingdom of God." Jesus Christ also said, "Do not become intoxicated with liquor for intoxication is morally depraved." Jesus Christ considered intoxication an act of the flesh that displeased God.

If the aforementioned 10 store owners heed the advice of their patriarch, Pope Shinudah, who is also the patriarch of Christians in Egypt, the remaining 4 will not go through with their challenge, even though they are all Muslims. This is the religious role which Pope Shinudah can play, and I believe that he will listen to my appeal.

I remind His Eminence, and I remind myself, of what God Almighty said, "You will find that...the nearest in affection to them are those who say: 'We are Christians.' That is because there are priests and monks among them; and because they are free from pride" [al-Ma'idah: 82]. Lord, we have put ourselves in Your hands. It is You we seek, and it is You who determines our destiny.

ISRAEL

Voting Patterns Display Arab Inter-Party Strife
44230017 Tel Aviv HADASHOT in Hebrew
4 Nov 88 p 25

[Article by Yehuda Litani: "The Arabs Did Not Tip the Scales"]

[Text] Due to terrible internal hatred among the Arab parties, surplus vote agreements were not signed and HADASH, the Progressive List for Peace and Darawishah lost approximately two mandates. Even these, however, would not have changed the picture.

The fact that stands out from the election results within the Arab sector is that the three major parties competing for the Arab vote—HADASH, the Progressive List for Peace and 'Abd-al-Darawishah's party—lost almost two seats in the Knesset. It appears that because these parties did not hook up in surplus vote agreements, at least HADASH and the Progressive List lost one seat each in the Knesset. The Progressive List for Peace was on the verge of getting a third mandate; HADASH, according to the count, would have gotten an additional half mandate; and even Darawishah's party had extra votes beyond the seat it won in the Knesset. But it appears that poor relations and the hatred that exists among the three parties, presented the establishment of this kind of agreement, this despite the fact that HADASH, at the beginning of the Knesset election campaign, asked the Progressive List for Peace to establish a surplus vote agreement with them. However, even if the three parties, or two of them, had received more seats in the Knesset, it would not have been enough to create a majority bloc for the left.

The percentage of Arab voters in the elections increased by approximately four percent compared with the 1984 elections. In the previous elections, approximately 72 percent of the Israeli Arabs voted; in this election, it was approximately 76 percent. Experts on Arab issues expected that the percentage of voters would be even higher and might even surpass 80 percent. Why was the increase only four percent?

Emil Habibi, one of the heads of HADASH, the editor of the RAKAH publication AL-ITTIHAD, brings up three reasons why only 76 percent voted. The first, disillusionment with the two large Zionist parties, the Labor Alignment and the Likud, mainly over the last year, the year of the intifadah. This disillusionment caused, according to Habibi, potential voters for Labor Alignment not to participate in the elections at all. The second reason is the "people who poisoned the wells." "The unchecked provocation against us," says Habibi, "created a situation where within the Arab Israeli population there were people for whom we became a symbol of the struggle for justice, and because of the provocation, they started to doubt." The third and most important reason, to his mind, for the percentage of voters reached in the current elections, is the radical organizations such as Ibni al-Balad (Village Sons) and the Muslim fundamentalists, who called for a boycott of the elections. In the election, HADASH took five seats in the Knesset, an increase of one seat over the last elections. "I personally," says Emil Habibi, "expected that we would get at least six seats, and therefore, despite our relative success, I felt some disappointment." And in truth, in the 1984 elections, HADASH won more than four seats; they were short only 800 votes to get the fifth Knesset mandate. Thus, the increase achieved by HADASH was not as impressive as many had hoped for.

In the current elections, the percentage of Arab voters who voted for the non-Zionist parties rose from 51 percent to 60 percent. The Arab-Jewish parties

(HADASH, the Progressive List, and the purely Arab party of Darawishah) won 60 percent of the votes, marking an advancement in the continuing process of gnawing away at the Zionist parties within the Israeli Arab population. What caused this? Former advisor to the prime minister on Arab affairs, Shmu'el Toledano, says that young educated Israeli Arabs want to vote for a party with which they identify, and of less importance to them is the benefit their vote will bring them. Their parents' generation was more interested in the concrete results that their votes would bring about: the Zionist parties, since the birth of the state, had brought about many changes in the Arab sector; whereas neither RAKAH nor the Progressive List has passed any laws in the Knesset. It was Arens, Rubenstein, and Weizman who effected significant changes in the Arab sector, such as the elimination of territory, for example, which was "Ezer Weizman's initiative. But this time, the younger generation decided to vote according to their hearts and not according to pragmatic considerations. It would appear that in the next elections, in 1992, this process will be even more pronounced, and given the establishment of a right-wing religious government, the percentage of Israeli Arabs voting for mixed and Arab parties will increase.

There are those who see the Israeli Arab vote as a continuation of the process of radicalization among them although in the opinion of Shmu'el Toledano radicalization will only occur when a large bloc of Israeli Arabs boycotts the elections. "As long as the percentage of voters remains as it is," says Toledano, "it indicates a desire among a decisive majority of Israeli Arabs to take part in the democratic process." This is, in his opinion, an absolute indication of recognition of the state and its institutions, despite the massive vote for HADASH, the Progressive List, and Darawishah.

No change in voting pattern occurred among the Druze. Although no Druze candidate was included on the Likud list and on the Labor Alignment's list, no Druze appeared in a realistic position—which the Druze voters were well aware of. They did not decide on a protest vote, but rather repeated the pattern of their past voting behavior; i.e., 80 percent for the Zionist lists. Within the Druze population, 20 percent voted for RAKAH and the Progressive List, exactly as in previous elections. This time, too, the Labor Alignment won approximately 28 percent of the Druze vote, and the Likud, approximately 20 percent.

The real revolution occurred among the Bedouins. In the past, 10 percent of the Bedouins voted for non-Zionist parties; in the current elections more than 50 percent voted for these parties, and only approximately 45 percent for Zionist parties. This time, the majority of the Bedouin votes went to al-Darawishah, who put together a list made up purely of Muslim candidates. The Bedouins saw his list as close to the Labor Alignment, and hoped that the Likud and the Labor Alignment would

not be angered by their vote. In any event, the Bedouin vote this time bears witness to the serious bitterness among them, especially regarding the issue of land.

In the current elections, there was no significant difference between the Christian and Muslim vote within the Arab sector. Therefore, this sector can be divided into three blocs: Bedouins, Druze, and Muslim-Christian. The only Zionist party that saw a significant increase in these elections was the Citizens Rights Movement, which won 4.4 percent of the Arab voters (more than twice the level of support as compared with the previous elections). MAPAM was disappointed because it received only approximately 3.8 percent of the Arab votes. MAPAM hoped to receive much more from this sector. The Labor Alignment dropped in this election to 16.2 percent, versus 25 percent in the last election. Also, Shinuy was disappointed by their showing within the Arab sector in the current elections.

In summary, there were not many surprises in the current elections as far as the Arab vote, except for the loss of two mandates because surplus vote agreements were not consummated. Five mandates of HADASH and two for the Progressive List were anticipated and the single seat won by Darawishah did not constitute a surprise among experts on the subject of the Arab sector in Israel. The only surprise was that they did not get more. There were those on the Israeli left who hoped that Israeli Arabs would tip the scales in the creation of the next coalition. As for the religious revolution, their hopes were shattered this time.

Druze, Circassian Troops Prove Effective in Gaza
44230021 Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew
2 Nov 88 pp 10-11

[Article by Topaz Karmi]

[Text] One regular Army unit in the Southern Command is the battalion of Druze and Circassians. The loyalty of these minority soldiers to the IDF and the level of their professional skills have been well known for years. Because of their special abilities, they are more suitable for carrying out some assignments than are other units. One example is their operational employment in Gaza. Knowledge of Arabic makes their service in Gaza very effective.

At the lowest level, they like to say: "We are a battalion like all the others in the regular Army, and anyone who has not yet realized that will begin to realize it now."

Towards the end of its service in the Gaza Strip, all the commanders in the area are praising its work, efficiency, and motivation.

The battalion is formed entirely of soldiers from the Druze and Circassian communities; consequently, their daily speech is in their native language, Arabic.

In Gaza, too, they speak Arabic. Thanks to their knowledge of the language, soldiers of the battalion have outsmarted some big shots active in public committees. "We were on night patrol," says Munib. "We saw a light in one of the shops, we came closer. When we put an ear to the door and realized that inside they were planning the next riots for Jabalya. We thought about it and decided to take a chance. One of the soldiers frantically knocked on the door and shouted in Arabic, 'Open the door, the Army is after me.' They immediately opened the door, and that is how we got them."

They take in the slogans on the walls and report on when a hostile action is expected. Audio cassettes used for incitement are immediately seized. And, of course, they have put an end to the series of notes from the government. "For a while," relates Baysan, commander of Company 'B,' "an Arab would show up with a worthless piece of paper in his hand and say that it was a 'certificate from the government.' Not any more. You can't sell that to us. With the language, we know what is up. We know who speaks to whom, we have already adjusted to the situation and know to debrief them and not to stop those who are innocent of any crime."

And how are the Arabs reacting?

"They're happy," says 'Ammar. "They are pleased that, at last, they can explain to someone what they are feeling. Aside from that, when someone calls out in Arabic, 'stop!' they stand still. This is their language."

There is also a less peasant side to understanding the language. As Salman puts it, "You walk on patrol and hear curse after curse. They say evil things about your mother. After that, they turn to your sister and then, after they have gone through the rest of the family, they find something else to work on. Everyone knows that, for a Druze, honor is the most important thing and so it is not difficult to get to us. We must restrain ourselves and there is nothing more difficult than that."

Their philosophy teaches not to emphasize the fact that they are members of the Druze community. For the Arabs, they are IDF soldiers in every respect. Even so, there are subjects tied to mentality or tradition in which there are considerable differences. "A Druze soldier would never relieve himself in public, certainly not in the presence of women," says the battalion commander. Beyond the violence when necessary, the honor that we show adults is honor in the full sense of the word, and the Arabs understand and admire that."

The battalion and the Gaza Strip have a long history. The battalion has already been here twice, twice as the foreign company. Its soldiers came to this job after training, bearing praise from its previous operational deployment in Avivim.

They felt that once again they were obliged to succeed and to adapt themselves to the level expected of them. When they arrived and encamped in Rafi'ah, Nabbi, the battalion commander, saw that this was not to be. Here, they would not be able to prove what they were worth. He applied pressure for a transfer to the inner core of the uprising in the strip—Jabalya.

In Jabalya, the days are days of riots. Molotov cocktails and stones are the routine. In the northern sector, the report boards in the refugee camp area are updated every few minutes.

Today, towards the end, when they contemplate the corner in which are gathered all the hidden materials, the "booty"—maps of Palestine, PLO flags, pictures, various plans—they know that they have not been idle.

The soldiers themselves recall, without longing, the Molotov cocktails. Just a week before, they seized five in an assault. Only the thrower was injured.

Today, the report boards from Jabalya are much reduced. In Jabalya, they have learned to beware those wearing the black berets. They love that in the battalion. There is an anecdote they enjoy telling. "One day, we decided to prepare a party for one of our officers. We loaded up a lot of tables and chairs and headed for the mountains. In Jabalya, they were sure that we had pulled out. What a riot there was...."

From the top of the dune to the left of the road, anyone who comes from the Erez roadblock can look upon the entire refugee camp. Men sit there too, restrained most days of the year, but now feeling full of themselves and not trying to hide it.

They volunteer to point out that they are full of pride in the unit. The reservists among them add, "These are too fast on their feet. There is too much discipline."

All of them are residents of northern villages. Many of them are cousins or, as they describe it, "When someone goes home, he returns with clean laundry for the whole platoon."

[Boxed item, p 11]

'Many Battalions Could Learn Something From Them'

The commander of the northern sector of the Gaza Strip says:

"They always tell a battalion, you were better, you were not so good. This time, for the first time, that was not so. I state, with all my heart, that since I began my assignment here, this is the best battalion in every way.

"I do not exaggerate in saying that I have never had such a battalion that succeeded in carrying out the tasks assigned to it in such a complete manner.

"Many battalions have passed by under my review and this battalion is different from all the others. Its soldiers carry out its assignments with firmness and motivation, without mishap, and most importantly, without wronging those innocent of crime, even by mistake. Many battalions could still learn something from them."

**Muslim Shaykh Praises MAPAM
as "Model" Party**

44230020 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew
26 Oct 88 pp 6, 11

[Article by Qasim Ziyad: "Peace Covenant Allies"]

[Text] It is doubtful whether the compliments and credit given MAPAM this week by top public Arab figures could have been given to any other party. The warm and candid remarks that were heard were electoral assets, and their importance lies in the fact that they were voiced expressly at the end of the election campaign. Notwithstanding, they should be seen as a certificate of respect for MAPAM, with no connection to the degree of their influence in the voting booths.

Ibrahim Nimr Husayn, the chairman of the national committee of the heads of the Arab authorities, at a reception that took place on Sunday in his home in Shefar'am for the members of the national kibbutz secretariat, who came to bless him and the residents of his town on the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad, said, "Personally, I resolved not to interfere in the election campaign since my suggestion to unite the peace forces in Israel was not well received. Thus, I preferred to remain silent." Notwithstanding, he feels strongly obligated by his conscience to the role MAPAM fulfills in its position on the side of the struggle for justice for the Arab population in Israel on two critical and central points: the problem of civil equality and the problem of peace.

Husayn, who sounds as if he is talking from his heart, appreciated the humanistic treatment from MAPAM when homes were destroyed in 'Arab al-Khuwayli and aid was granted in the form of buildings that were used to shelter the children of the village. Husayn also has not forgotten the respectful and bold position taken by MAPAM activists vis-a-vis his struggles for the Arab population on "Land Day," "Peace Day," and "Equality Day." Thanks to MAPAM, no blood was spilled and a deterioration of Jewish-Arab relations was prevented.

Husayn admitted that the affiliation of dozens of members of the national kibbutz movement on critical days of reckoning, alongside the Arab Israelis, prevented dangerous situations. "They participated with us in demonstrations and strikes and acted as if they were one with us." Nor has he forgotten the visit he received from Victor Shem-Tov, when the latter was general secretary of MAPAM. Shem-Tov told him about the party's decision to recognize the national committee, at a time when the government and most of the parties resisted such a move

and opposed the existence of the committee. MAPAM's decision to recognize the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people was seen by Husayn as a brave act. "We are not ungrateful. We recognize and appreciate your actions and we hope you will continue these acts independent of the elections. Please know that you are the most accepted party within the Arab population," he said.

Knowing the Arab Child

The peace camp in Israel, with MAPAM at its head, received the blessing of the leader of the Islamic movement, Shaykh 'Abdallah Nimr Darwish, when he was the guest of honor at a reception held by the mayor of Kafr Bara, Shaykh Kamal Rayyan, for members of the national kibbutz secretariat. "I hope that the peace camp, which is the strongest of all, will become even stronger in the polls," said Shaykh Darwish. The shaykh also thanked MAPAM for its contribution to the advancement of Arab culture and education, and said, "MAPAM has known the Arab child since it was weak and ignorant at the beginning of the state, and MAPAM did a great deal to save it from this ignorance and for that we thank you."

"There is no contradiction between the Islamic faith and adherence to the law. We support a diplomatic solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict," said Shaykh Darwish, drawing on the "I believe" of the Islamic movement. He also clarified, "Within the State of Israel, I oppose any and all violent actions against the state. All adherents of the Islamic movement in Israel believe in a diplomatic solution."

Shaykh Darwish criticized the large parties that are not prepared to cooperate with HADASH and the Progressive List, which represent, he says, a significant portion of the country's citizens. The large parties see cooperation with HADASH and the Progressive List as cooperation with the PLO. "Yosi Sarid and Granot are seen in the eyes of the large parties as PLO supporters," claimed Shaykh Darwish.

"The 'Aqabah summit gave a boost to the peace camp in Israel. We should not be ashamed to sound the voice of peace," the shaykh says. Emphasizing the influence of his movement, he added, "I think that our movement has the power to influence in this direction. The secret of our power lies in the fact that we are strong and it is always the strong who speak about the heart and soul of man while the timid refuse to talk peace. It is not difficult to wage war. That is easy. A boy who throws a rock can throw a bomb, but he may not be capable of sitting at a negotiating table. Only heroes can sit at a negotiating table."

In his opinion, "Although the peace camp in Israel is still a minority, anyone who represents that camp is strong in spirit and faith." He labeled Shamir as timid.

Shaykh Darwish emphasized again that "In our opinion, the Islamic movement is very strong, because peace is in our soul and is, in our eyes, a supreme value for which we are even prepared to die."

He drew a parallel between the believers in their way and their faith and the faith of the national kibbutz people, "In your strong belief in your way, you are 99 percent close to us. You are closer to us than the chief rabbi. You are the true believers even though you do not embrace God; the chief rabbi embraces God, but does not embrace man."

Shaykh Darwish once again called for the peace camp to unite. Two peace camps must rise: one Jewish and the other Arab. It is possible to establish a joint Jewish-Arab party such as MAPAM, but it is difficult to establish one, Jewish-Arab peace camp."

Amirah Sartani for the Knesset

The renowned author Dr Mahmud 'Abbasi, who attended the reception given by Ibrahim Nimr Husayn for the national kibbutz secretariat members, said no more and no less than this: "We want to see Amirah Sartani in the Knesset." This was more than a heavy hint at their desire that MAPAM would win more than four mandates in the elections.

Dr 'Abbasi, who did not hide his regard for MAPAM, said, "The very fact that you are here, on a day such as this one (the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad), is an expression of the true regard felt for MAPAM and the national kibbutz." He also addressed MAPAM's uniqueness and said, "The way you treat the Arab issue is unique to you, and is in keeping with our spirit. It is a pity that this way is not implemented more broadly and in the proper proportions in the field." The warm and emotional words of Dr 'Abbasi reached their peak when he said, "Every vote for MAPAM is a net vote and a victory for peace. We hope MAPAM will get between four and five mandates, because then our situation will be better."

JORDAN

Ministry Publishes Plan To Overhaul Educational System

44000206 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English
30 Nov 88 p 3

[Text] Amman (Petra)—The Ministry of Education Tuesday published an explanatory statement giving details of a general plan for overhauling the educational system in the Kingdom from now until 1994.

Minister of Education Dhuqan al-Hindawi, who issued the statement, said that the aim of the new system, which was endorsed by the first educational conference last

year, is to raise the students' level of general education, enabling them to move up to secondary and higher education or join the Jordanian work force.

Al-Hindawi told the Jordan News Agency, Petra, that the plan entails extension of the compulsory education stage, removing all barriers separating general education from the vocational training at the secondary level, for the sake of improving the quality of education at this stage, and enabling students to acquire better qualifications in preparation for the higher education stage.

Al-Hindawi explained that the educational conference recommended that the regular education at schools should be composed of two stages. The basic stage which will be of a period of 10 years for students between six and 16 years of age, and a two year secondary stage with students between 16 and 18 years of age.

The secondary stage he said should be composed of two disciplines, academic and vocational, with general education courses serving as a common denominator for the two disciplines, according to the minister.

He said that the implementation of the conference's resolutions requires a transitional stage which will witness the introduction of new measures in stages and the enactment of new legislations and rules. For this reason, he added, the ministry has worked out the following timetable for the transitional period starting with the 1987-1988 scholastic year, and distributed it to the various schools and departments of education in different provinces.

In the scholastic year 1987-1988: A general unification of education courses at the first secondary level was implemented which resulted in the abolition of a system separating the vocational and academic education streams. For this to happen, students who had passed the secondary stage admission examination, should be distributed to the first secondary classes or to vocational training schools in accordance with annual regulations to be issued by the Ministry of Education.

The ministry's Curricula Department has been entrusted with the task of preparing a working paper to amend courses for the second and third vocational secondary classes so that amendments can be added to the textbooks.

In the 1988-1989 scholastic year, students of the third preparatory class will be promoted to the first secondary class in accordance with their school results and this year no students from these classes will be referred to vocational training centers.

The students of the first secondary class in the current scholastic year will be distributed to academic or vocational training streams in accordance with their school results.

In the 1989-1990 scholastic year, the grades of the students in the second preparatory stage will be recorded to prepare a complete report on these grades by the end of the preparatory stage to help classify students for the academic and vocational streams.

Students of the third preparatory stage in the current scholastic year will be promoted in accordance with their school results and those of the first secondary will be promoted to the secondary classes either in the academic or a vocational streams.

On the 1990-1991 scholastic year the grades of students in the second and third preparatory classes will be compiled to help smooth the classification process at the secondary level.

On the 1991-1992 scholastic year the reports of grades of students in the preparatory level will have been completed to prepare for their classification in the secondary stage. This process will facilitate the distribution of students in the secondary level.

'Green Belt' To Protect Environment Planned
44000207 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English
30 Nov 88 p 3

[Text] Amman (Petra)—Jordan suffers from pollution problems resulting from the expansion in construction operations at the expense of agricultural land, waste and pesticides, domestic animal enclosures, the encroachment of desert land on arable land and the misuse of chemical fertilisers, Minister of Municipal and Rural Affairs and the Environment Yusuf Hamdan al-Jabir said Tuesday.

"The protection of the environment remains a major preoccupation for the government which has recently created an 'environment sector' within the present five-year development plan," the minister said upon opening a three-day seminar to deal with the negative effects of agricultural projects on the environment.

The government's plan in this respect, he said, entails the creation of a "green belt," which runs along the edge of the badiyah region from the north to the south of the country, to serve as a national barrier in the face of the encroaching desert.

The minister noted that the finishing touches are being put to the plan before its implementation.

Al-Jabir noted that an agreement with the International Federation for the Conservation of Nature has been signed paving the way for a national strategy for the protection of the environment from pollution.

The agreement, which will be put into force towards the end of this year, is expected to play a leading role in promoting agriculture and at the same time ensure a better and cleaner environment, the minister added.

He said the Arab ministers responsible for the environment have endorsed a Jordanian proposal for the establishment of a central information unit in Jordan on the environment, and contacts are underway to provide the requirements for its establishment.

"The introduction of modern techniques in agriculture and industry benefitted the kingdom a great deal, but at the same time numerous negative effects resulted, mostly affecting the environment, the minister concluded.

Another speaker at the opening session was Jordan Cooperative Organisation (JCO) Director General Murid al-Tall, who outlined the government's efforts and instructions to various industries to protect the environment from pollution.

"Keeping the country clean is essential for preserving health and protecting citizens from diseases," al-Tall added.

He said pollutants resulting from agricultural activities are considered among the main causes of pollution. This calls for improvements in methods used in the application of fertilisers and pesticides, and educating farmers in modern means of protecting themselves and the environment from materials with dangerous effects."

A representative of the French Naumann Foundation, which is sponsoring the seminar in cooperation with the Ministry of Municipal and Rural Affairs and the Environment, said that industrialised nations' activities have had their negative effects on the developing countries, pointing out that industrialised nations have been producing millions of tonnes of chemical and dangerous waste which are bound to damage the environment in one way or another.

Pollution resulting in high temperatures in the atmosphere over the past 45 years led to the decline in the size of the ozone layer, and a rise in temperature worldwide posing dangerous consequences on humans and plants, the foundation's representative noted.

A total of six working papers, dealing with the sources of pollution in Jordan, the effect of using pesticides and animal husbandry projects and the employment of treated wastewater for agricultural purposes, will be discussed by the meeting which is being attended by Jordanian specialists, representatives of the United Nations Environment Programme and experts from Arab and foreign countries.

The seminar will also discuss environmental health, the use of manure and chemical manure and chemical fertilisers and the negative effects of plastic products, such as plastic containers, on the general environment.

KUWAIT

Illiteracy Reported Reduced to 26 Percent
44000211 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English
4 Dec 88 p 4

[Text] During the last decade 17,384 citizens benefitted from illiteracy eradication programmes.

In an interview with a local daily, the director of the Adult Education and Illiteracy Eradication Department, 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Najdi, was quoted as saying that illiteracy had been reduced to about 26 percent in 1987 compared to 89 percent in 1957.

There are 78 centres for illiteracy eradication in the country—35 for women and 43 for men. These centres had 31,848 students—16,729 males and 15,119 females.

Surmount

He praised the continued efforts exerted by the state during the last quarter century towards eradicating illiteracy. He added that Kuwait will surmount this problem before 2000 AD—the date set by UNESCO for eliminating illiteracy of about 800 million people throughout the world.

UNESCO, in co-operation with other international organisations, has set 1990 as the year for beginning the campaign to eradicate illiteracy by the year 2000 AD.

LEBANON

Politician Claims Syria Rejects Foreign Interference
44040093 Beirut AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA
AL-DUWALI in Arabic 7-13 Nov 88 pp 18-19

[Text] A West Beirut political figure sees in the move of certain Arab countries to oppose the partition plan a sign of disapproval of the Syrian position and a desire to expose its role in undermining Lebanese independence. He expressed the belief that the move was aimed not at obtaining an Arab League resolution for the withdrawal of foreign forces, but at encircling the Syrian Government and setting it side by side with Israel in working toward breaking up the Lebanese state.

He said that the Syrian Government's speedy response to the move must be attributed to fear of encirclement and not to fear of a resolution calling upon Syria to withdraw its forces. With the exception of Iraq, the PLO, Jordan, and Egypt (which has not yet returned to the League), no Arab state is ready to raise the issue of the Syrian military presence at any meeting of the League. Since this subject is one of the most conspicuous internal Lebanese matters, successful encirclement of the Syrian

Government by an Arab group would be an important political development, inasmuch as it would place the latter government under suspicion of engaging in coordination with Israel.

He said that two governments ago, and before the partition plan was launched, the Arab states were in no condition "to set foot in the Syrian court in Lebanon," nor did they have the ability to oppose the fragmenting measures which that government was implementing in coordination with Israel. The crisis did not explode suddenly; it is 14 years old. Direct Syrian occupation is 13 years old; Israeli occupation is 6 years old. The Syrian Government has interpreted according to its whim the resolutions of kings and presidents regarding the role, authority, and term of the Arab Deterrent Forces, and Israel has interpreted as it pleases the resolutions of the United Nations regarding withdrawal from Lebanese territory.

He said that since the breakdown of the 17 May Agreement 4 years ago, and the American decision to allow the Syrians to reinstate their "political and security presence" in West Beirut after the 1984 withdrawal of the Multinational Force, critical developments had occurred involving the course of the crisis and the future of the [1943 National Pact] formula. The first such development was the [Lebanese] president's withdrawal of his 1983 note to the Syrian leaders asking for the withdrawal of Syrian forces following Israel's commitment to withdraw its army under the 17 May Agreement. The next such development was the fact that Muslims began to have misgivings about the legitimate government, wondering what "competent body" represented it. In the wake of these misgivings, Islamic and leftist sources began to separate the Syrian "presence" or "role" from the Israeli occupation.

He said that the Arab states cannot impose unity on the Lebanese. They refuse to embrace reality. They know that Muslims—voluntarily or out of fear—refuse to recognize any resolution calling on the Syrian Government to withdraw its forces. Placing importance on any naval move is like placing importance on any French or European role. Since the American decision 4 years ago to allow the Syrian Government to return gradually and quietly to the Islamic half of the capital, the latter government has begun to deal ruthlessly with developments, using provocation as a means of challenging any Arab state attempting to approach the crisis.

He said that the Syrian Government could not stand to breathe any wind "from the direction of the Arabian Sea or the European sea." It was committed to the fait accompli—breathing the wind "from the direction of the American-Israeli sea." The Syrian Government rejected moving the crisis from the triangle formed by itself, the United States, and Israel and rejected bringing up the crisis in an Arab-European arena.

He said that while there is no proof, there is much evidence of how America has "fostered the hegemony" of the Syrian Government and Israel. It is "pure stupidity" to separate the coordination between Israel and the Syrian Government in Lebanon from their coordination in the Gulf War and in supporting the Islamic Republic [of Iran]. Israel's insistence on supporting Iran resembles the Syrian Government's insistence on breaking with the Arab consensus in order to support Iran against Iraq. Israel based itself on "strategic interest" in offering arms to Iran (which aspires to "liberating" Jerusalem from the south); Syria based itself on "its farsightedness" in examining developments, predicting results, and persuading Iran not to expand the war or oppose the Gulf countries.

He said that the Arab states had retired from the crisis ever since the Arab Deterrent Forces turned into Syrian Deterrent Forces. These states would have no new opportunities to return to the crisis. The Syrian Government's countermove after the Arab move was aimed at convincing the originators of the move to talk about the Lebanese crisis in a low voice or whispers, instead of speaking loudly, sharply, or at the top of their voice.

He said that the Syrian Government was using the Islamic and leftist parties and organizations as "postmen" to carry letters to any party trying to interfere in Lebanon, except the United States and Israel. The Muslims and leftists carried letters after Colonel al-Qadhafi's statement supporting the legitimacy of General 'Awn's government, after Shaykh Zayid's call for a summit to discuss the crisis, after the al-'Aqabah meeting between King Husayn, President Mubarak, and Mr 'Arafat, and after the Baghdad meeting between Mubarak, President Saddam Husayn, and 'Arafat.

He said that the extent of crisis after 14 years of war was a sign of the Arab states' weakness, the European states' powerlessness, the confessional groups' disintegration, and the impossibility of these parties taking the place of "the logic of apportionment" that the United States had imposed on Lebanon through the Syrian administration and Israel. The information that "an optimistic questioner" had communicated about the Arab move had gradually dried up, just as the French move had dried up. The crisis had begun to be bigger than the Arab countries and larger than the European countries. As long as the United States did not adjust its position, it was impossible to deal positively with any move except a move (sincere, not false) made by the Americans.

He said that if by some miracle the Arab states intervened in the crisis, the intervention would produce one or more new disasters. The Arab states have before them the issue of Israeli occupation, Syrian occupation, Iranian occupation, and Palestinian occupation of Lebanese territory. The majority of Arab League states are not about to decide to call for the withdrawal of "ali" the

foreign forces. Rather, they are ready to issue a statement criticizing the Israeli occupation and calling on the international community to pressure Israel to withdraw its forces from Lebanon.

He said that Lebanese division about the foreign occupation is more frightening than the Arab inability to confront the issue of the foreign armies. It was impossible for any Islamic group to accept the withdrawal of Syrian forces, even if Israel withdrew its forces. The Syrian "presence" was separate from the Israeli "occupation"; it had a new task—protection of Muslims from a "sweep" of Islamic areas by "the army of the Christian state"—a task the Syrian Government had forced on Islamic circles after 23 September. When the Arab states are unable to get to the bottom of the crisis, and when they avoid passing any resolution that deems the occupation to be an occupation and calls on the occupying parties to withdraw their forces, one can form an idea of the immensity of the new disaster or disasters that will befall Lebanon as a result of the Arab move.

The Lebanese situation has entered the tunnel of partition, and the Arab states cannot extricate Lebanon. Like the French move, the Arab move is a stage play. The Syrian countermove is aimed at heading off the exposure. Practically, the three moves do not serve the interest of Lebanon; instead, they aim at shattering whatever remains of the [1943 National Pact] formula.

LIBYA

Report Depicts Industrial Growth in First Half of 1988

45040062 Tripoli AL-FAJR AL-JADID in Arabic
10 Sep 88 pp 4-5

[Article: "Industrial Sector Production Develops Greatly in First Half of 1988"]

[Text] Since the inception of the great 1 September Revolution in 1969, the industrial sector has been given serious attention and numerous industrial bastions, some of which have already entered the production phases and some are still under construction, have been built in the various parts of the Jamahiriyyah. This sector is important to enhancing development and to moving the economy from subservience to and reliance on a single resource, namely oil, to a self-reliant economy that is based on diverse production and that achieves freedom, progress, and prosperity—an economy that reflects the slogan that people who get their food from overseas can have no freedom.

A brief followup report on production in the industry sector's companies and plants demonstrates production development in these various firms, installations, and plants in the first half of 1988 compared to the same period of 1986 and 1987.

The report shows that the achieved production value in the first half of 1988 amounted to 207.3 million dinars, compared to 203.6 million dinars in the first half of

1986. Thus, production value in the first half of 1987 [as published] exceeded the production value for the same period of 1986 by 103.7 million dinars or by 51 percent.

(Value in Thousands of Dinars)

| No | Sector | Production Value in First Half of 1986 | Production Value in First Half of 1987 | Production Value in First Half of 1988 | Growth Percentage | |
|---------------------------------|---|---|---|---|-------------------|-------|
| | | | | | 86/88 | 87/88 |
| 1. | Food Industries Sector | 76,650 | 91,427 | 106,653 | 39.1 | 16.7 |
| 2. | Yarn, Textile & Leather Industry Sector | 35,742 | 41,392 | 52,014 | 45.5 | 25.7 |
| 3. | Furniture & Paper Industry Sector | 5,028 | 8,547 | 10,504 | 108.9 | 22.9 |
| 4. | Chemical Industries Sector | 29,555 | 37,159 | 38,529 | 30.4 | 3.7 |
| 5. | Cement & Construction Materials Industry Sector | 21,791 | 37,036 | 42,750 | 96.2 | 15.4 |
| 6. | Metal & Engineering Industries Sector | 33,537 | 36,361 | 55,140 | 64.4 | 51.6 |
| 7. | Basic Metal Industries Sector | 1,332 | 1,127 | 1,744 | 30.9 | 54.7 |
| Industrial Sector's Grand Total | | 203,635 | 253,048 | 307,334 | 50.9 | 21.5 |

Notice: 1986 production value does not include al-Jabal al-Akhdar Soil and Construction Materials Company or Public Porcelain and Glass Production Company.

The report also shows that production value in the first half of 1987 amounted to 253 million dinars. Thus, production value in the first half of 1988 exceeded production value for the same period of 1987 by 54.3 million dinars or 21.5 percent.

This is in addition to the industry sector's accomplishment at the domestic level. Some of the locally-produced goods have been exported to fraternal and friendly countries within the framework of trade exchange. Within this framework, there was a yield in foreign currency. The industry sector's exports to the outside world in the first half of 1988, i.e. from 1 January 1988 to 30 June 1988, amounted to 7 million dinars, or \$25 million, compared to exports of 1.2 million dinars, or \$4.3 millions, in the corresponding period of 1986, meaning that exports rose by 483 percent in 1988 over the corresponding period of 1986. The export value [from 1 January] to 30 June 1987 amounted to 2 million dinars or \$7.1 million, thus rising by 250 percent over 1987.

The locally-produced exports are embodied in the following:

1. P.B.C's (powdered plastics);
2. Solid caustic soda; and
3. Cement.

These products were exported to Tunisia, Algeria, Malta, Turkey, Italy, Iran, Bulgaria, Belgium, the Ivory Coast, and Russia.

The sector's sales in the first half of 1988 amounted to 296.4 million dinars. The exports constitute a part of this sum.

Sales in the first half of 1987 amounted to 230.5 million dinars. Thus, the sector's sales in the first half of 1988 rose by 29 percent over the corresponding period in 1987.

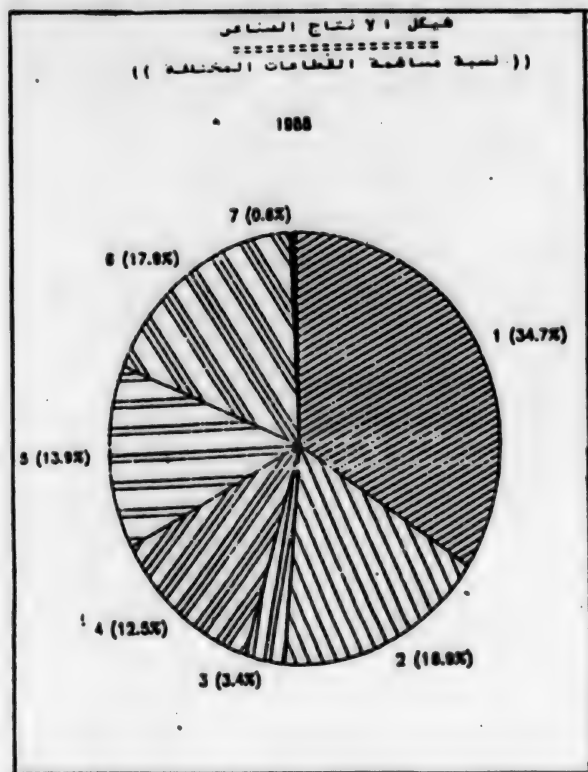
Operational Budget

As for the operational budget needed to secure production prerequisites and spare parts, the Secretariat urged the various companies under its control to draw up their 1988 budget on the basis of raising production to the corrective capacities of each production unit.

There is no doubt that a direct relationship exists between the availability of prerequisites and spare parts, the capability of the human element and good management, and the development of production in the industrial units.

To confirm this point, the Secretariat of the General People's Committee for Industry drew up its short-term plan with the goal of enabling the plants to reach their maximum capacity while reducing costs and eliminating bottlenecks through specialized technical committees formed in every production unit to follow up issues on the spot and to coordinate with the Central Bank of Libya to facilitate the provision of credit on schedule so as to avoid disruption in the production lines because of the lack of prerequisites and spare parts needed by the plants.

Industrial Production Structure
Percentage of Various Sectors' Contributions in 1988



1. Food Industries Sector
2. Yarn, Textiles, and Leather Industries Sector
3. Furniture and Paper Industry Sector
4. Chemical Industries Sector
5. Cement and Construction Materials Industry Sector
6. Metal and Engineering Industries Sector
7. Basic Metal Industries Sector

If we review the value of the production turned out by the sector's various companies in the first half of 1986 and of 1987 and then compare it with what was accomplished in the corresponding period of 1988, the following becomes obvious:

First, Food Industries Sector:

[From this point to the end of the article, all figures are as published.] The total value of production turned out by the food industries sector in the first half of 1988 amounted to 106,653 dinars, with an increase of 30,003 over the corresponding period in 1986 and of 15,226 over the corresponding period in 1987 when the production value amounted to 91,427. Total production value in the first half of 1988 thus rose by 39.1 percent over the corresponding period of 1986 and by 16.7 percent over the corresponding period of 1987.

Industrial Production Structure
Percentage of Various Sectors' Contributions in 1987



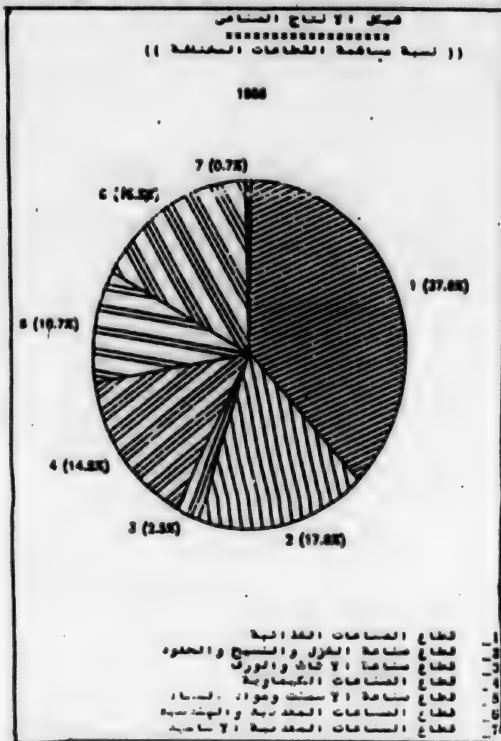
1. Food Industries Sector
2. Yarn, Textiles, and Leather Industry Sector
3. Furniture and Paper Industry Sector
4. Chemical Industries Sector
5. Cement and Construction Materials Industry Sector
6. Metal and Engineering Industries Sector
7. Basic Metal Industries Sector

Second, Yarn and Textile Sector:

This sector includes the Public National Yarn and Textile Company, the National Textile and Clothing-Marketing Company, the National Company for the Manufacture and Sale of Clothing, the Medical Gauze and Cotton Company, and the Public Company for Leather Goods and Products.

The total value of production turned out by the yarn and textile sector in the first half of 1988 amounted to 52,014 dinars, an increase of 16,272 dinars over the corresponding period in 1986. The sector's production value in the corresponding period of 1987 amounted to 41,391 dinars, thus exceeding by 5,649 dinars the production value in the corresponding period of 1986. Thus, the total production value rose by 45.5 percent between 1986 and 1988.

Industrial Production Structure
Percentage of Various Sector's Contributions in 1986



1. Food Industries Sector
2. Yarn, Textiles, and Leather Industry Sector
3. Furniture and Paper Industry Sector
4. Chemical Industries Sector
5. Cement and Construction Materials Industry Sector
6. Metal and Engineering Industries Sector
7. Basic Metal Industries Sector

Third, Paper and Furniture Industry Sector:

The paper and furniture industry sector's production in the period from 1 January 1988 to 1 June 1988 amounted to 10,504 Libyan dinars, exceeding by 5,476 dinars, or 108.9 percent, production in the corresponding period of 1986. Production in the corresponding period of 1987 amounted to 8,547 dinars, meaning that 1988 production exceeded 1987 production by 22.9 percent.

Fourth, Chemical Industries Sector:

The Chemical industries sector includes the National Soap and Detergents Company, the Public Plastics and Synthetic Sponge Establishment, the Aman Tire and Battery Company, The Public Company for the Production of Paints and Paint Requirements, the Public Company for the Production of Paints and Chemical Materials, the Public Company for the Production of Industrial Gases, and the Public Company for Chemical Industries.

The total value of production turned out by the chemical industries sector in the first half of 1988 amounted to 38,529 Libyan dinars, exceeding the 1986 production [for the same period], which amounted to 29,555 dinars, by 8,974 dinars. The 1987 production in the same period amounted to 37,159 dinars. Thus, production in the first half of 1988 grew by 1,370 [dinars], or by 3.7 percent over the corresponding period in 1987.

Fifth, Cement and Construction Materials Sector:

The cement and construction materials sector includes the Libyan Brick Production Company, the Public Pipe Production Company, the Public Porcelain and Glass Production Company, the Public Tile and Construction Materials Production Company, al-Jabal al-Akhdar Soil and Construction Materials Company, the Libyan Cement Company, the National Cement and Construction Materials Company, the Public Suq al-Khamis Cement and Construction Materials Company, al-Fata'h Cement Plant, and the Zulaytin Cement Plant.

The total value of production turned out by the cement and construction materials sector in the first half of 1988 amounted to 42,750 [dinars], exceeding by 20,959 production in the same period of 1986 and by 5,714, or 15.4 percent, production in the first half of 1987.

Sixth, Engineering and Metal Industries Sector:

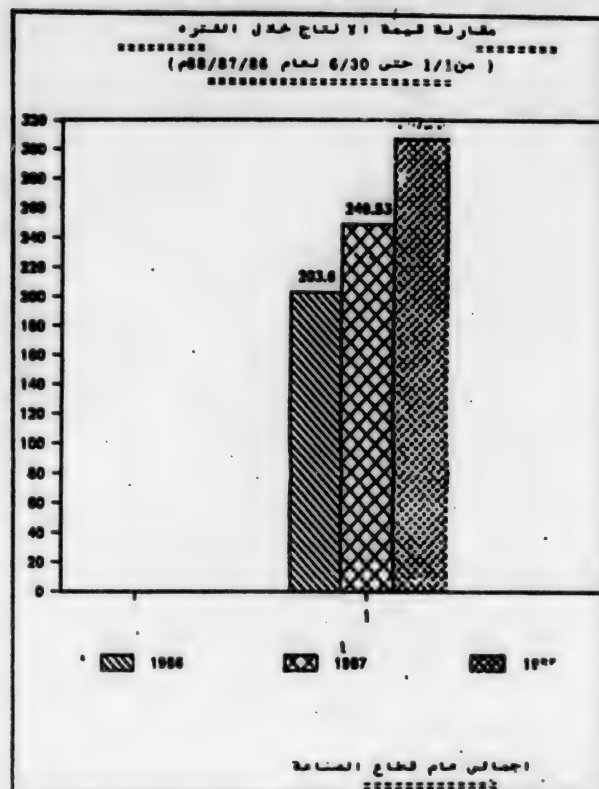
The National Aluminum and Lead Production Company, the Public Refrigerators and Ovens Company, the Public Cables and Electrical Products Company, the Metal Installations and Works Company, the National Development Company, the Industrial Development Company, the Trucks and Buses Company, the National Trailers Company, the Libyan Tractors Company, the Public Piping Company, the Public Electronic Products Company, and the Electronic Industries Executive Agency come under the engineering and metal industries sector. The total value of production turned out by the engineering and metal industries sector in the first half of 1988 amounted to 55,140 [dinars] compared to 36,361 dinars in the corresponding period of 1987, i.e. with an increase of 51.6 percent.

Seventh, Basic Civilian Industries Sector:

This sector includes the National Smelting Company whose production in the first half of 1988 amounted to 1,744 [dinars] compared to 1,127 in the corresponding period of 1987, i.e. an increase of 54.7 percent.

Thus, the total value of the industrial sector's production in the first half of 1988, i.e. from 1 January 1988 to 30 June 1988, amounted to 307,334 dinars, compared to 206,350 dinars in the corresponding period of 1986, i.e. an increase of 103,699 dinars. Compared to the corresponding period of 1987, production in the first half of 1988 increased by 54,286 dinars.

Comparison of 1 Jan-30 Jun Production in 1986, 1987, 1988
(In Millions of Dinars)



Industrial Sector's Grand Total

OMAN

State Oil Company Reports Development Programs

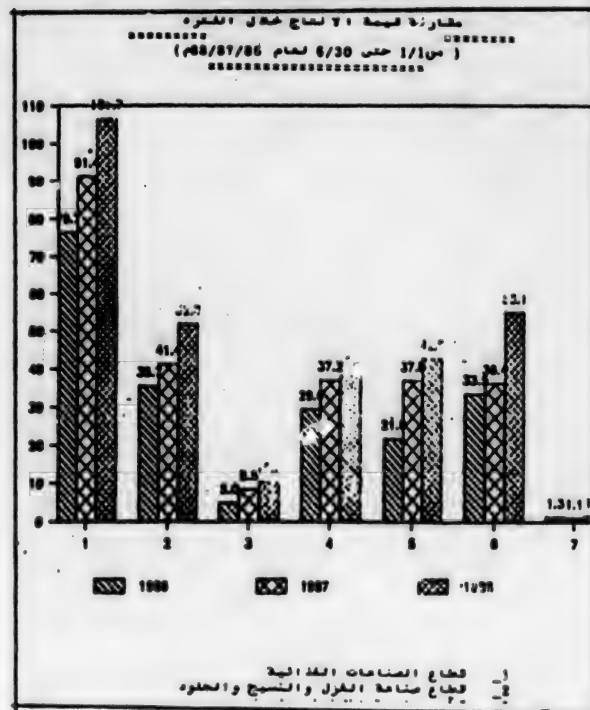
44040068 Muscat 'UMAN in Arabic 21 Sep 88 p 5

[Excerpt] Last year's accomplishments of the Oman Petroleum Development Company were not confined to oil and gas drilling operations and production. Indeed, they went beyond that to include Omanization which is going forward in firm steps in keeping with the government's judicious goals of training and employing Omani national cadres. The company is making concrete efforts in this area and this article reviews the endeavors mentioned in the company's annual report in the fields of Omanization and conservation, and in its oil and gas operations as well.

The company is seeking to achieve Omanization without affecting the high technical standards the company needs in order to maintain its sound and constructive operations in an oil industrial environment that presents growing challenges and a greater need for technical expertise.

In its annual report issued recently, the Oman Petroleum Development Company reviewed, among other things, last year's accomplishments in this domain as well as in the field of conservation and environmental protection.

Comparison of 1 Jan-30 Jun Production in 1986, 1987, 1988
(In Millions of Dinars)



1. Food Industries Sector

2. Yarn, Textile, and Leather Industry Sector

Last year witnessed consolidated efforts by the company on behalf of Omanization. A special task force was formed to study the status of Omanization in the company and to submit recommendations aimed at pushing this process forward. Recommendations put forth by the task force brought about radical changes in the personnel department, including the creation of a new position called "Director of Personnel" and the enhancement of the personnel planning department. The personnel director's bailiwick includes management of the Omanization program, which requires concerted efforts to push it forward, and ensuring, through better planning, that all the company's departments are fully capable of taking in new employees who complete their education which they receive at the company's training centers where the number of students and trainees rose dramatically to about 700 students in 1987.

The company continually reviews its Omanization policy, which dates back to 1970, in an effort to make sure that the process is progressing effectively without losing its efficiency and its ability to fulfill its assigned role; not an easy task in view of the mammoth developments in the exploration and production technology.

Inasmuch as the company is committed to Omanization, it is making massive and persistent efforts in the field of training aimed ultimately at replacing all foreign

employees by Omani citizens. It is noteworthy that, after hiring qualified Omani employees, the company offers them training and career development programs to prepare them for active participation in company operations. During this year, 65 Omanis held existing positions in the company, some of which used to be occupied by foreign employees while the rest were probably filled by foreigners. Right now, Omanis represent 56 percent of the company's employment roster.

Training facilities in Mina'al Fahl and Fuhud have been used to the fullest whereby the training department has been able to implement the company's intensive training programs in all full-time technical and commercial studies. Moreover, several short courses in technical development, English language, and computer science have been offered as a result of an analysis the company conducted to identify its training needs. Additional employees have been assigned to these extracurricular activities thereby conferring further improvements on the training department services.

Furthermore, the number of career development trainees at the company this year rose to 697 as of the end of the year. As for Omani students studying in the United Kingdom or America, their number rose to 270.

On the other hand, the training department is a point of departure for industrial trainees of the Ministry of Education, the vocational training institutes and the technical colleges. These trainees need systematic on-the-job training for a period ranging from six weeks to a year. To fulfill the training requirements of technical institutions and universities, these programs must be organized under the supervision of specialized employees with training department oversight.

As for the courses the company is organizing with a view to turning out technicians, craftsmen, and assistant clerks, they are underway and are very popular. In 1987, there were 297 such courses. These programs not only help Omani citizens to acquire recognized skills, but also allow the company to Omanize basic technical sectors.

The company has also succeeded in getting the Technical and Trade Education Council in England to agree to hold its training courses in the sultanate, thus saving the company large sums of money.

It is well-known fact that the Omani training process does not stop at any given course. Indeed, it is an ongoing development process that requires close cooperation between the personnel training and planning departments on one hand, and the training department and various other departments on the other. This carefully-planned process allows the company to identify promising Omani employees who can be developed and trained for higher positions.

Environmental Protection

As part of its firm commitment to protecting the Omani environment the company this year removed over 20,000 tons of iron and pipe scraps from the 13 waste dumps in the interior. This project is part of its program to remove refuse from its areas of concession that had been left there when exploration operations got under way in the fifties. The terms of the refuse removal contract included provisions requiring the contracting company not only to remove refuse from the concession areas, but to take it outside the sultanate as well.

This action was enacted in the wake of the comprehensive cleaning operation the company started in 1983 throughout its desert sites. This operation involved the removal of scrap from over 1000 sites to refuse dumps specially designated for this purpose spread all over the company's areas of concession.

Furthermore, the first stage of a series of environmental studies the company plans to undertake this year was concluded in Marmul where the study included the environment, health, and other safety issues at the Marmul center and oil production facilities there. More environmental studies are planned for 1988 in the company's other areas of operations.

During this year as well, a booklet on how to handle toxic material has been prepared and will be published in 1988.

The company also has intensified its several year old efforts to beautify its areas of operation by awarding a 2-year tree-planting and maintenance contract to take care of parks located in the Mina'al Fahl industrial zone and the Ra's al-Hamra residential area.

As for the desert farm in Rahab in the south of Oman, it has more than doubled in size after adding to it a 60-hectar area in the wake of the success of the original project that was set up on a 40-hectar piece of land in Wadi 'Arah near Marmul.

Not only did this project establish the success of crop growing and fruit and vegetable farming in a desert environment, but it also demonstrated a real demand for forage, Rhodes grass in particular, which people like to buy for their livestock.

Right now, this grass is being planted in the new area so as to enable the farm to meet the demand for this crop. It is noteworthy that the new area is irrigated by the highly economical circular spray system which will allow us to conduct an accurate evaluation of the economic potentials of desert farming.

Public Projects

As an integral part of Omani society, the company last year completed a number of social projects, particularly in the interior desert where most of its operations are located.

These projects included the extension of water pipes to the village of Mughshin located at the edge of the Empty Quarter in central Oman. This line runs for 38 kilometers from an existing water well in the area to supply water to village residents and to the new government public housing project. It is the first water line to be laid in that area.

Moreover, the company turned over seven of its al-Hamrah pre-fabricated houses in Ra's al-Hamrah to the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs for use as homes for the handicapped. The company moved and assembled these houses at the new locations in al-Rustaq and al-Khawd.

Furthermore, the company donated two mobile homes for use as classrooms at a new school in Wadi 'Arah near Marmul and delivered 100 trees from its desert farm to the governor of Hayma. It also provided assistance to Hayma residents by supplying them with building materials to construct several taxi stands outside the hospital and some trash containers.

Current estimates indicate that it is possible to extract an additional 1.2 billion barrels of oil (190 million cubic meters) from the company's reservoirs by employing booster recovery methods.

Hence, the company is pursuing with keen interest the testing of several booster methods on heavy viscous oils found in certain company reservoirs, particularly in the south of Oman.

It is quite difficult to recover these oils because primary or secondary recovery methods would leave about 90 percent of the oil in the ground.

Booster Oil Recovery

The company is always studying ways to recover booster oil. It has instituted a series of experimental projects for recovering this oil aimed at securing a sound economic way of employing these methods in the future.

The company is employing these booster methods to recover oil which cannot be produced economically through the conventional methods it routinely employs on a daily basis.

Because booster recovery methods are very costly, the company has embarked on a series of experimental projects to test each method separately to ensure its economic and effective use in the future.

Projects that are under implementation are: steam flooding, steam saturation, hot water injection, and polymer flooding.

The steam-flooding project at the Marmul field includes the underground injection of steam at 340 degrees Celsius to warm up the oil reservoir.

Under high temperatures, viscous oil turns less viscous and, therefore, flows more freely to the oilers. Moreover, steam helps the oil to move and migrate from the reservoir, thus increasing the rate of recovery.

Due to the complexity of the physical process inside the reservoir and in order to derive optimum benefit from this project, computers have been used extensively.

By the end of this year, the steam plant in Marmul had injected about 870,000 tons of steam to produce 1.9 million barrels (300,000 cubic meters) of oil. It is noteworthy that this plant was officially inaugurated in 1985 by His Majesty Sultan Qabus Bin-Sa'id.

Right now, the steam saturation method is being tested in several fields in the south. This method is different from the steam flooding method in that saturation occurs in the same well from where the oil is recovered.

The saturation process involves the injection of steam into the reservoir for a month to heat up the rock strata in the reservoir, thus lowering the viscosity level of the crude oil. Thereafter, oil is recovered at a higher rate for several months until it is time for another round of saturation.

The steam saturation process has been successful in several wells in the Rahab, Amal, Nimr, Mukhazinah, and Marmul fields, thus tripling the rate of production.

It is noteworthy that by employing the steam saturation method in only one well in the Amal field where it was impossible to recover the oil by conventional methods, the company's reserves have been increased by 600,000 barrels. This was the first addition to the reserve resulting from the employment of a booster oil recovery method.

Moreover, planning is under way to employ the steam saturation method in nine other wells in the Amal fields beginning in 1990. It is hoped that this process will lead to broader utilization of the steam-flooding project by the end of this century.

The only chemical method the company employs is the preliminary experimental project for polymer flooding in Marmul. This project has been highly successful, thus prompting the company to plan a follow-up project by the end of 1988.

This method involves the injection of polymer to warm up the water used to dislodge the oil inside the reservoir. This improves the water's ability to force the oil out of the reservoir and into the oilers, consequently overcoming the possibility of the water overtaking the heavy oil and leaving it behind in the ground.

From September 1986 up to the present time, about 940,000 barrels (150,000 cubic meters) of polymer have been injected. By the beginning of this year, the amount

of oil relative to the water in the four oilers went up and by the end of the year the total output of these four wells amounted to 660,000 barrels (105,000 cubic meters) of oil, or a recovery rate of 40 to 50 percent.

The follow-up project includes plans to test the polymer flooding method on larger areas between wells in the same field.

In 1987, the warm water injection experiment was completed in Qarn al-'Alam. Laboratory tests have shown that water heated to 200 degrees Celcius moistens the oil rock strata in Qarn Alam, thus allowing the oil to circulate more freely thereby facilitating the production process.

This project began by injecting warm water into the field in 1986 via a single injection well. The total amount of water injected was about 1.06 billion barrels (169,000 cubic meters). By keeping systematic data logs, it was possible to observe the changes in the oil saturation rates which went up by 10 to 50 percent.

The company is still in the process of analyzing these results which will be incorporated into this field's future development plans.

These four tests are only the beginning of an extensive development program spanning a quarter of a century aimed at producing close to 100,000 barrels (16,000 cubic meters) of oil a day in the next century.

Gas

In 1987, the company continued its efforts to make extensive use of associated gas by maintaining the 1986 level of 80 percent. This rate has been achieved notwithstanding record output levels of associated gas that reached 335 million cubic feet (9.5 million cubic meters) a day by the end of this year due to higher oil production.

Over two-thirds of this amount of gas is produced from the Fuhud, Yibal, and Natih fields where 95 percent of the gas is being exploited.

Additional improvements will be introduced to other fields in the north in 1988 as a result of additional gas compression and treatment facilities that have been set up. By the end of the year, six compressors brought in from al-Huwaysah were at the final stages of preparation for operation in al-Khuwayr. This is in addition to a gas treatment plant which will treat surplus gas before pumping it to Fuhud for reinjection into the wells or for use as fuel, thus saving us the need to use non-associated gas in north Oman.

By the end of 1987, three huge compressors were put into operation in Sayh Nuhaidah, considerably boosting the field's output capacity and gas lifting capacities. Each compressor operates on a 2.6-megawatt power operated engine fed by the new 132-kilovolt overhead power line

extended from Yibal. A similar compressor in the neighboring Sayh Rawl region will be supplied with electric power from the same source.

These are the main engines used in the fields until now. However, the company has ordered a huge new compressor that operates on a 10.4-megawatt engine for use in gas lift operations in Yibal. This step is the beginning of a company plan aimed at using power engines instead of turbines or gas-operated engines that require more extensive maintenance and, consequently, added related expenses.

In September, the Khuf formation in Yibal was linked to the production line and, by the end of the year, this field was producing 500 barrels (800 cubic meters) of oil and 17.5 million cubic feet (500,000 cubic meters) of associated gas a day from two wells via two special shafts that remove toxic hydrogen bisulfites from crude oil.

In the central part of the sultanate, new gas compression and treatment facilities have been put into operation in Zawiyah and similar operations were in full swing in each of Hasirah, Bahjat and Suwayhat.

In the south, work is under way on a massive gas gathering project in Marmul where eight compressors are being installed to enable the company to use the 17.5 million cubic feet (500,000 cubic meters) of gas a day produced from this field.

Moreover, efforts to cut the consumption of non-associated gas have been successful. The company is using an average of 25 million cubic feet (700,000 cubic meters) of this gas a day obtained from West Fuhud and West Natih (for injection) and from Sayh Nuhaidah (for fuel in southern Oman), compared to 35 million cubic feet (1 million cubic meters) a day it used in 1986. It is expected that it will do without non-associated gas in 1988 when associated gas is transported from Khuwayr to Fuhud via the pipeline and the gas gathering system is completed in Marmul.

In 1987 many expansions were introduced to the government gas project which the company is operating on behalf of the government, the most significant of which being the expansion of the gas gauging and distribution system in the Rusayl industrial zone which was completed in June 1988.

The company has made great progress in the design and mapping of the main 26-inch pipeline route for the second phase of the Izki-Yibal coupling. The company will need this additional capacity in 1989 to absorb the expected increase in the rate of flow. The peak demand for gas in the summer of 1987 reached 205 million cubic feet (5.8 million cubic meters) a day, a 7 percent increase over the previous year. Higher rates of demand are expected to occur in coming year.

Most of this gas is produced from eight wells drilled in the Natih formation in the Yibal field. During this year tests for raising the rates of flow in one well were successful which means that the number of wells we will need for the long term will be lower than anticipated.

As part of the government gas exploration project which the company is managing, new discoveries have been made in Khuwayr and Huwaysah. The Khuwayr discovery was the first in the Mafraq and Ra'idah formations.

Secondary Recovery Methods

The company has had great success in its use of secondary recovery methods which it routinely employs in oil fields in northern Oman to boost recovery operations to the maximum.

Secondary recovery usually involves the injection of water or gas into oil reservoirs to maintain the pressure that forces the oil toward the oilers. The gas injection method is used in Fuhud and Natih while water injection is used in Jibal at a rate of 300,000 barrels (48,000 cubic meters) a day. Moreover, the experimental water-flooding project is under implementation in the Khuwayr field and is being expanded to boost production there. It is noteworthy that work on this project began in 1984 after it became clear that the recovery rate in this field through natural migration would be low. In 1987, production from this field rose by about 5,000 barrels (800 cubic meters) a day through the implementation of this project which included 11 new injection wells. To develop the full capacity of this field, 400 injection and production wells must be drilled. Estimates indicate that production from the Khuwayr field will ultimately reach over 400 million barrels (63 million cubic meters) of oil and the massive water-flooding project the company is carrying out will raise oil recovery rates by 10 to 33 percent.

In Natih, the company has made extensive use of the gas injection method. Three previous oilers have been opened and three new wells have been opened and three new wells have been drilled. Moreover, another three wells that had been shut down for a long time were recently reopened and each one is producing at a rate of 400 cubic meters a day.

The follow-up project can now be implemented with more confidence. This project calls for drilling six new oilers a year for the next ten or fifteen years. It is believed that gas injection in Natih may boost the reserve considerably over the current estimate of 120 million barrels (19 million cubic meters). This field will have the capacity to produce at rates above 15,000 barrels (2,500 cubic meters) a day until the year 2000.

Drilling work in Yibal was maintained in 1987 with a view to completing the well prototype. Twelve new oilers have been drilled and there are plans to drill 118 wells a year for the next five years. This drilling program, in

addition to the ongoing reactivation of old wells, is expected to help maintain the oil levels at a rate of 140,000 barrels (22,000 cubic meters) a day for several years to come before production starts dropping. [passage omitted]

QATAR

Minister Discusses Water and Electricity projects 44040066a Doha AL-ARAB in Arabic 8 Sep 88 p 2

[Text] [QNA] His Highness Shaykh Jasim Ibn-Muhammad Al Thani, Minister of Electricity and Water, has praised the achievements accomplished by the State of Qatar and the ambitious plans, set down by His Highness Shaykh Khalifah Ibn-Hamad Al Thani, the country's beloved ruler, and His Highness Shaykh Hamad Ibn-Khalifah Al Thani, the crown prince and defense minister, which are aimed at building a modern society advancing on the path of prosperity and growth.

In a statement to QNA on the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the independence of the State of Qatar, His Highness said that the ministry was honored to assist in the country's development and growth. The ministry has sought to increase electric power and water desalination in order to meet the citizens' requirements, ensure adequate energy for the various industries, and keep abreast of urban development.

The minister reviewed the achievements accomplished during past years and the future electric power and water projects. The ministry, he added, is in the process of building two water desalination projects, each producing five million gallons of drinking water daily at Ra's Abu-Funtas power and water desalination plant. This is in addition to the installation of additional gas turbine generators in the South Doha and al-Wajbah main plants. These new units will begin producing electricity and water in late 1990.

The minister of electricity and water said that the highest electric power load recorded at the beginning of last August was 925 megawatts and is expected to reach 960 megawatts before the end of the summer. He said that electric power produced during the past 12 months totalled 4,480,392,510 kw/hour.

He said that certain works scheduled to be completed by the end of the current hejira year will be put up for bidding. These include the building of seven new transmitting stations, boosting the power capability of the al-Gharrafah main station, carrying out the necessary alterations to the main equipment in some of the stations, developing the systems and protection equipment in many of the main stations, extending the network of control and communications, and building ground lines in a number of main power stations.

He also said that illumination of many roads and traffic circles in various parts of the country has been completed. Work is now underway to boost distribution in certain main stations and to complete extending electric power to several areas. He said that during the past hejira year the diesel section carried out maintenance work on 737 diesel electric power generators in 377 different areas.

The minister of electric power and water added that the cooling and air conditioning section has been charged with the additional task of overseeing the technical steps to be taken in order to rationalize consumption. Buildings belonging to ministries and the various government departments have been programmed for this purpose. Speaking about water desalinization projects, the minister said that total water desalinization production during last hejira year reached 73.5 million tons, showing a drop of one percent from the previous year. The average daily water production reached 47.67 million gallons.

He said that Qatar's total water storage capacity has reached 135 million gallons and by the end of 1989 it will reach 171 million gallons, which is sufficient for 3.74 days of the peak week.

Concluding his statement to QNA, Shaykh Jasim Ibn-Hamad Al Thani said that the ministry has completed maintenance work on many storage tanks, and new water storage tanks are being built in certain areas. Work is also underway on the maintenance of elevated tanks and on building three water towers in the area of His Highness the Amir's neighborhood, the Hamad hospital, and the al-'Usayri area. Work is also being carried out in order to complete water distribution networks in many areas.

Profile of Work Force, University Students
44040066b Doha AL-'ARAB in Arabic 14 Sep 88 p 2

[Article by Zakariyya Abu-Haram]

[Text] In the prior segment of the Personnel Affairs Administration annual report, we dealt with statistics of government employees according to nationalities, professions, and educational standard.

In this segment, we deal with statistics of government daily workers up to 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H. [18 February 1988].

The number of government daily workers counted as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H. totaled about 15,016 compared to 15,051 workers counted as of 1 Rajab 1407 A.H. [2 March 1987], representing a drop of 35 workers or .23 percent from last year.

Daily Workers

The distribution of daily workers according to their places of work, as provided in the report, was as follows: In the Ministry of Electricity and Water, [the number of daily workers] was as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H. compared to 4,268 last year, a drop of 3.44 percent from last year. [as published] The present number represents 27.44 percent of the number of daily workers as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H.

The number of workers in the Ministry of Municipal Affairs as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H. was 4,006 compared to 4,057 workers last year, a drop of 1.25 percent from last year. The present number represents 26.67 percent of the total number of daily workers as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H.

The number of workers in the Ministry of Public Works as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H. was 1,956 compared to 1,966 workers last year, representing a drop of .5 percent. The present number of workers represents 13.02 percent of the total number of daily workers as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H.

The number of workers in the Ministry of Education (including the University of Qatar) as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H. was 1,882 compared to 1,753 workers last year, representing an increase of 7.35 percent over last year. The present number of workers represents 12.53 percent of the total number of daily workers as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H.

Generally it can be said that these four ministries employ about 11,965 workers, or 79.68 percent of the total number of daily workers as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H.

Pay Categories

With regard to wage categories, it can be said that 36.82 percent of the workers receive a daily wage of less than 30 riyals, that 21.97 percent of them work in the 30-32 riyals category, 11.55 percent in the 36-38 riyals category, and 7.13 percent in the 500 riyals category or higher.

Generally it can be said that 70.35 percent of the government daily workers work for wages less than 38 riyals per day.

According to Nationalities

With regard to the distribution of daily workers by nationalities, the report puts the total number of Indian workers as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H. at 5,035 compared to 5,112 workers last year (a drop of 1.5 percent), and the Pakistani workers at 2,751 as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H. compared to 2,763 workers last year (a drop of .43 percent from last year).

The number of Iranian workers as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H. totalled 2,630 compared to 2,717 workers last year, a drop of 3.2 percent from last year.

The number of Egyptian workers as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H. totalled 1,185 compared to 1,064 last year, an increase of 11.37 over last year.

The number of Qatari workers as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H. totalled 1,163 compared to 1,205 last year, a drop of 3.48 percent from last year.

It can be said that the total number of daily workers from only three Asian countries—namely India, Pakistan, and Iran—as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H. was 10,416, representing 69.36 percent of the total number of government daily workers.

Qatari Graduates

The Personnel Affairs Administration annual report then deals with Qatari graduates up to 1408 A.H.

The report says that the number of male and female graduates in the State of Qatar, as classified by the Committee for the Classification of Graduates at the Personnel Affairs Administration as of Meeting No 105 and as of 16 Jamad I 1408 A.H.—corresponding to 5 January 1988—totalled about 2,672 male and female graduates.

| Description | Qatar University | | Scholarships | | Total | |
|------------------------|------------------|---------|--------------|---------|-------|---------|
| | Males | Females | Males | Females | Males | Females |
| Government Departments | 407 | 1,464 | 430 | 25 | 837 | 1,489 |
| Liberal Arts Graduates | 349 | 1,210 | 259 | 20 | 608 | 1,230 |
| Science Graduates | 58 | 254 | 171 | 5 | 229 | 259 |
| Institutions | 61 | 44 | 238 | 3 | 299 | 47 |
| Liberal Arts Graduates | 25 | 15 | 115 | — | 140 | 15 |
| Science Graduates | 36 | 29 | 123 | 3 | 159 | 32 |
| General Total | 468 | 1,508 | 668 | 28 | 1,136 | 1,536 |
| Liberal Arts Graduates | 374 | 1,225 | 374 | 20 | 748 | 1,245 |
| Science Graduates | 94 | 283 | 294 | 8 | 388 | 291 |

Government Housing

For the first time the report contained a new general and simplified chapter on government housing statistics at the Personnel Affairs Administration.

The report says that the number of government houses as of 30 Jamad II 1408 [21 February 1988] totalled 7,729 dwellings, of which 7,271 were rented, representing about 94.1 percent of the total government houses. Of these, 458 were state-owned, representing 5.9 percent of the total housing.

The total number of male graduates was 1,136, representing 42.52 percent of the total number of graduates, and 1,536 female graduates, representing 57.48 percent of the total number of graduates.

The total number of male and female [Qatari] graduates from Qatar University was 1,976, representing 73.95 percent of the general total of graduates. Of these, there were 468 male graduates, representing 23.68 percent of Qatar University graduates, and 1,508 female graduates, representing 76.32 percent of Qatar University graduates.

The number of male and female graduates on scholarships abroad totalled 296 male and female graduates, representing 26.05 percent of the general total, of whom there were 668 male graduates and 28 female graduates. Male graduates represented 95.97 percent of graduates on scholarships abroad, and female graduates represented 4.03 percent of graduates on scholarships abroad.

The total number of male graduates assigned to government departments was about 837, of whom 608 were liberal arts graduates and 229 were science graduates. The number of female graduates assigned to government departments was 1,489, of whom 1,230 were liberal arts graduates and 259 were science graduates.

The number of male graduates assigned to public institutions in the state was 299, of whom 140 were liberal arts graduates and 159 were science graduates. The number of female graduates assigned to public institutions in the state was 47, of whom 15 were liberal arts graduates and 32 were science graduates.

Type of Housing

With regard to the type of government houses, the total number of government houses as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H. was 3,999 apartments, representing 51.7 percent of the total, of which 3,783 apartments were rented and 216 were state-owned.

The number of villas totalled 3,730, representing 48.38 of the total, of which 3,488 villas were rented and 242 were state-owned.

Dividing the government houses according to category (rented/state-owned) and type (family/single) we would

find that the number of rented houses in the state was 7,271, of which 6,768 were family houses and 503 were single houses.

The total number of state-owned houses is 458, of which 452 were allocated as family dwellings and 6 as single dwellings

Therefore, the number of houses allocated to family dwelling totalled 7,220, which was 93.4 percent of the total of government houses as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H. The number of houses allocated to single dwelling totalled 509 houses, representing 6.6 percent of the total government houses on the same date.

The number of inhabitants occupying government houses as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H. totalled about 9,837 persons. They have been divided according to grades and nationalities. Senior grade employee inhabitants as of 30 Jamad II 1408 A.H. totalled 4,087, representing 59.8 percent of the total. The number of middle grade employee inhabitants totalled 1,038, representing 15.2 percent of the total.

The number of Qatari inhabitants totalled 1,663, representing 24.3 percent of the total.

The number of Guli' citizens inhabitants totalled 40, representing 0.6 percent of the total.

The number of Arab inhabitants totalled 4,230, representing 61.9 percent of the total.

The number of foreign inhabitants totalled 904, representing 13.2 per cent of the inhabitants.

Aluminium Production Agreement Signed *44000215 Doha GULF TIMES in English* 23 Nov 88 pp 1, 16

[Text] Qatar has passed another milestone in its economic development strategy with the signing of a memorandum on the setting-up of a large-scale aluminium industry in a multi-national joint venture.

A statement issued by Qatar News Agency on Monday said: "Following the guidance of HH the Emir of Qatar, Shaykh Khalifah ibn Hamad al-Thani, and in fulfillment of the efforts exerted by HH the Heir Apparent, Shaykh Hamad ibn Khalifa al-Thani, memorandum of agreement was signed by Mr Ahmad Muhammad 'Ali al-Subay', chairman of the Qatar Executive Aluminium Committee, and Paul Brauner, chairman-elect of the Doha Aluminium Company Ltd (Doha); and they announced the establishment of a 240,00-tonnes a year aluminium smelter with its own power plant and 25mn gallons a day water desalination plant.

"This will be the largest smelter in the Gulf, and metal production is scheduled to commence in mid-1991."

"The shareholders in Dohal will include Minmet of the People's Republic of China, Amarin pic—a major international aluminium distributor—a group of American metal users and local institutions. The smelter will be built by a London consortium led by Balfour Beatty and Brown and Root (UK) Ltd."

Mr Ahmad Muhammad 'Ali al-Subay' is chairman of Qatar Steel Company (Qasco).

The announcement, coming within weeks of the start-up of work on the world's largest single gasfield in the Qatari continental shelf, signals Qatar's determination to translate its plentiful natural gas resources into industrial wealth.

Nearly two dozen foreign companies, drawn from China, India, Britain, United States, Germany and other countries had expressed keenness to participate in the Doha project.

An aluminium project for Qatar has been strongly recommended by the seven-state Gulf Organisation for Industrial Consulting (GOIC) whose study team had found an enormous gap in the world demand and supply of aluminium.

As a gas-rich country Qatar can offer an ideal location for such an industry which depends overwhelmingly on natural gas.

Monday's announcement indicates that aluminium production is the first industrial project to get the green light in anticipation of North Field gas. Others which have been under consideration include a third ammonia plant, with a capacity of 1,500 tonnes a day of fertiliser in Umm Sa'id, and expansion to the Qatar Petrochemical complex, also in Umm Sa'id.

Qatar launched its industrial development programme to diversify its sources of revenue in the 1960s. The first to go into production was a flour mill, followed by a cement company, mainly to meet local needs. Then, came the nitrogenous fertiliser company, which was expanded twice to make it a significant export-earning unit.

Qatar Steel and two natural gas liquids (NGL) units joined in quick succession in late 1970s.

At the time of his 10th anniversary of accession in 1982 the Emir, HH Sheikh Khalifah ibn Hamad al-Thani, opened a petrochemical complex, followed a year later by the inauguration by the Minister of Finance and Petroleum HE Shaykh 'Abd-al-'Aziz ibn Khalifah al-Thani, of a 50,000-barrels-a-day refinery.

A good part of Qatar's current revenue already comes from its industrial investments. Doha should add to it significantly in view of cheap energy supply, low production cost and an expanding market for aluminium worldwide.

SAUDI ARABIA

Research at City for Science and Technology Described

City President Describes Programs

44000194 Jeddah ARAB NEWS in English
20 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] Riyadh, Nov. 19 (SPA)—King 'Abd-al-'Aziz City for Science and Technology [KACST] has so far supported 218 research projects in its continuing efforts to further advance science and technology and to serve the Kingdom's development plans, the city's president, Dr. Salih 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Athil said here today.

Out of these, 98 have been completed while the remaining are satisfactorily progressing, Dr Salih said, marking the release of the City's latest ninth annual report, which illustrates its activities for 1987.

He said arrangements are underway to bring out a quarterly Arabic scientific magazine AL-'ULUM WA TAGHNIYAH. Future plans include issuing a book series and scientific films and arranging public awareness campaigns through the mass media.

Referring to the city's information and technical services, Dr. Salih said these services are being rendered through national data bases, information services, computers, libraries and the Saudi terminological data bank in a very effective manner that helps the exchange of information among scientists and researchers within the Kingdom and abroad.

In the field of technology, Dr. Salih said KACST is responsible for developing atomic energy technology in the Kingdom for use in peaceful applications. "In this respect, KACST is supporting a master's degree program in nuclear engineering and nuclear physics at King Saud University. It has also established a health physics laboratory and a nuclear radiation measurement laboratory at the University. KACST takes part in the supervision of imported radioactive materials used for scientific purposes and renders available advice and guidance for protection against radiation," he said.

Following the Chernobyl nuclear reactor accident, Dr. Salih said KACST participated in radiation inspection of imported materials.

He said the City has intensified its efforts to utilize solar energy technology in its various applications, namely electric supply, to remote areas in the Kingdom, solar

cooling laboratories in Saudi universities, dates drying and ripening, photovoltaic research, solar laboratories, solar thermal collectors, highway solar devices and solar hydrogen production.

In addition to the solar energy research program, Dr. Salih said KACST has other applied research projects. These projects include: fish culture, the national observatory, lunar observatories, the Saudi Arabian Facility for Remote Sensing (SAFRS) and Saudi Arabian wind assessment and seismological monitoring.

Referring to building KACST's permanent headquarters in Riyadh, Dr. Salih said the construction of the first phase of staff housing, a ground receiving station and the solar energy laboratory have ended. The design development of utilities, a center for the processing and analyzing space photos and computer facilities, and the first phase of the research institutes and laboratories have also been accomplished.

In the field of international cooperation, he said KACST scientific activities with Islamic, Arab and Gulf countries have been progressing. "Other countries having mutual scientific cooperation with KACST include the United States, China, Canada, South Korea, West Germany and France. Fields of scientific cooperation include solar energy, space sciences and remote sensing, fish culture in fresh waters, monitoring of earthquakes, astronomical observatories, improvement of construction material, Arabization of technical terminology and preparation of a vegetation atlas for the Kingdom," he said.

Grants Given for Projects

44000194 Jeddah ARAB NEWS in English
27 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] Riyadh, Nov. 26—The King 'Abd-al-'Aziz City for Science and Technology (KACST) has selected 11 research projects costing SR8,309,480 in all under its eighth annual award grants program. They cover the fields of agriculture, engineering, medicine, public health, and pollution and environmental health, states the ninth annual report of KACST.

Some of the projects to be taken up under the solar energy research program include solar highway devices like vehicles counting meters in the Western Province, warning and guiding signals as well as overheight detection warning signals for trailers at Naslat Shaar.

Other projects include solar cooling laboratories, a dates ripening and drying project, photovoltaic research project, solar energy laboratory, solar thermal, solar hydrogen production, and a fish culture project.

Referring to the production of tilapia and carp species, the report said its production reached 466,580 and 111,000 respectively. "The tremendous success in fish propagation has prompted many private farmers and

investors to seek KACST's guidance and technical know-how. KACST has distributed a total of 509,000 tilapia and carp fries to farmers and provided them with the necessary technical and extension services," the report points out.

KACST, it said, has installed a telescope and other related equipment at Ha'il for observing the lunar crescent, which marks the commencement of each Hijrah month. Arrangements are also under way to install similar equipment at two other sites at al-Wajh and Halat 'Ammar.

In the field of seismic activity, the report said, KACST has installed geophysical monitoring devices at al-Ha'ir to study tectonic plate motions. Additionally, it is engaged in compiling data on earthquakes in the Arabian Peninsula since the first Hijrah century so that a precise and comprehensive background on seismic history in the Arabian Peninsula could be established.

The report also refers to the national and international databases at KACST which enabled 3,561 online search services to be conducted in the past. Of these, 42 percent were in the field of medicine. KACST also supplied users with 10,665 documents, of which 46 percent were from KACST's own resources, the report adds.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

Military Reportedly To Boost Ties to Italy
44000178z Dubayy GULF NEWS in English
24 Nov 88 p 4

[Text] Abu Dhabi—Italy and the UAE have decided to prepare a framework of agreement to establish their priorities for a defence co-operation.

This was revealed by Italian Defense Minister Valerio Zanone at the end of a two-day visit to the UAE.

He told the press yesterday that this co-operation could involve the use by the UAE of advanced Italian technology and the staging of joint military exercises and preparation in the areas of naval, helicopter and land training.

Zanone ended his visit with a symbolic and ceremonious tour of the Italian frigate, Euro, where he congratulated the sailors for admirably completing their three-month-long mission in the Gulf.

He told them the mission, which had started off by being controversial and acceptable to many Italians, had been governed by a "coherent line of rules and purposes."

In addition, the mission had succeeded in providing valuable experience for the Western European Union (WEU) nations "in one of the most difficult areas of the world."

"It showed that we finally helped achieve a truce and the opening of negotiations by showing interest for peaceful initiative and concrete action," said Zanone.

He told the sailors that their discipline on board and on land will help enhance relations with this part of the world "which is destined to great developments in the future."

Earlier, speaking to the press Zanone said Italy's involvement in the region ends with the return this week of two frigates, Sagittario and Stromboli from Dubai, and by the end of this year, the return of the remaining frigate Euro and the two minehunters, Loto and Castagno.

The two minehunters will remain for another month accompanied by the supply frigate Euro to assist in the combined WEU efforts to comb out remaining mines from Gulf international waters.

Zanone said Italy has ended its mission of escorting Italian merchant ships and contributing to "the vigilance on international routes."

Asked if there are any threats of an Iran-Iraq military flare-up, he said the experience accumulated by the Italian forces will be valuable in case of any future breakouts.

"This mission has shown the effectiveness of the Italian navy and its capabilities in peace-keeping forces outside the Mediterranean."

He added that there is a sensible reduction of the threat of Iran and Iraq going back on their ceasefire.

"Of course, it is difficult to foresee the future but I believe that it is possible to evaluate that the danger is sufficiently decreased."

Zanone said Italy is still participating in the UN peace-keeping forces as it has 15 officers engaged as observers.

AFGHANISTAN

Private Industrial Projects Established

46000052a Kabul *THE KABUL TIMES* in English
28 Nov 88 p 4

[Text] Kabul, 26 November (BIA)—Twenty-seven industrial projects belonging to the private sector were established and put into operation in the current Afghan year and it is planned that 10 other projects will soon be established by making use of 50 million Rouble credit extended by the Soviet Union.

A spokesman for the central department of private investment development said that three projects producing vest, sweater, handkerchief, towel and other textiles will be established with the cooperation of Czechoslovakia. Necessary contacts have been maintained also with India, GDR, and Australia to establish industrial projects in the country. Similarly protocols on establishing two Indo-Afghan joint projects for producing medicines and beverages were signed between the private entrepreneurs of the country and the institutions of India.

Similarly the establishment of 63 new private projects were approved by the standing commission of the Council of Ministers. These projects include leather processing, carpet weaving, metal work, cattle breeding, medicine manufacturing, engraving and food stuffs industries and will be established with an initial capital of Afs. 803 million and a working capital of over Afs. 1 billion and 339 million in Kabul and other provinces of the country. These projects will provide jobs for over 5,000 compatriots.

Several Ineffective Publications, Trade Agencies Closed

46000054a Kabul *THE KABUL TIMES* in English
24 Nov 88 pp 1,2

[Text] A session of the Council of Ministers went into session yesterday under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Dr Mohammad Hassan Sharq. The session decided that the daily HAQIQAT-I-SARBAZ central organ of the armed forces must only be published twice a week in four pages and its budget must cut in half. The air force magazine and the health publication should be merged with the army magazine keeping the same number of pages.

The weekly POHANTOON from Kabul University should also be abolished. Except KABUL and ARYANA Magazines, all other publications of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Afghanistan should be stopped and if possible, the two mentioned magazines should merge as one.

To reduce extra expenses, the weeklies of QABAILI ZALMIAN, STORAI and DEHQAN should not be published anymore and the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan should curtail its publications. The weekly AFGHAN RED CRESCENT SOCIETY should become a monthly and its organization and expenditures should be taken under review.

As regard to other publications printed by ministries, a commission was assigned to present specific proposals to the Council of Ministers. Necessary decisions were also made in the session on printed publications of concerned authorities.

Based on the proposals by the Ministries of Commerce and Information and Culture, the session resolved that the Afghan trade agencies should continue their activities in Peshawar, Chaman and Mashad. The organization and expenses of Afghan trade agency be reduced in Moscow. The Afghan commercial attaches' in Delhi, Bombay, Kuwait, Romania, Karachi, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic and the Afghan trade representative in Amritsar and BIA agency in New Delhi, all should be closed, because of inactiveness.

Meanwhile, the session approved the programme of scientific and educational cooperation between the governments of the Republic of Afghanistan and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic for the years 1988-1990.

Scanning the proposal by the Ministry of Interior on extension and renewal of driving permission cards, the session decided that:

The driving permission cards of vehicles sold on the basis of temporal document and whose owner are not present, should be extended by 21 November 1989.

Discussing the proposal of the Ministry of Finance, the session decided that the custom's duties of goods in Kandahar should be charged on the basis of the trader's bank accounts and the pro-forma of their trade licenses.

The proposal of the Ministry of Commerce on the price of per kg of beef for 300 Afs and per kg of fowl for 250 Afs to state institutions and retail stores was approved by the session.

The session reaffirmed the proposal of the Ministry of Higher Education on elevation of the level of graduates of schools of provinces, except for Nangarhar, Balkh and Herat, for admitting to higher institutes.

The Ministry of Higher Education provides all facilities including lodging and boarding of students who are studying in winter time. It also pays the expenditure of students going to their provinces.

The session also discussed a number of laws and regulations and adopted necessary decisions. Based on the proposal of some ministries, the promotion of some high ranking officials was approved by the session.

New Irrigation Facilities Constructed
46000053a *Kabul THE KABUL TIMES in English*
27 Nov 88 p 2

[Article by Saduddin—staff reporter]

[Text] "About 38,000 hectares of land were brought in the first 6 months of the current Afghan year under irrigation in Kabul province," said Eng Ghulam Dastagir president of the irrigation and water resources department of Kabul province.

"In addition to maintaining the local irrigation establishments the department constructed new irrigation facilities in Paghman, Charasiab, Dehsabz Sorobi, Bagrami and Shakardara districts, Kabul province. For example there are 70 irrigation canals at the length of 415 kms along Kabul, Logar River and, Paghman and Shakardara River which irrigates the above regions. Similarly diversion dams and an irrigation canal costing Afs. 90 million were built in this period in Joi Sheer, Chardehi, Deh Khodaidad, Hoodkhel, Qabilby, Qalai Ahmad Khan, Shina and Maiwa Khatoon and Bakhtiaran regions, Kabul city. In addition to the irrigation of the existing agricultural lands, the above dams and canals will irrigate new agricultural lands in the districts of Kabul province," he continued.

He said that the department constructed in the first 6 months of the current Afghan year 35 small dams, 6 water and 2 flood gates and cleaned 22 head dams and 46 irrigation canals through launching mass work in Kabul city. Similarly the Department took active part in this period in cleaning the subterranean canals in Deh Sabz, Paghman and Mirbachakot districts, Kabul province.

The personnel of the Ministry of Water and Power is now conducting a survey on constructing a water reservoir dam on Logar River in Sangi Newashta area, Charasiab district, Kabul province to tackle the problem of the shortage of water in Kabul province.

Similarly, the repair of the exit canal of Qargha dam has been completed to a certain extent and it will be completed till the end of the current Afghan year, he concluded.

INDIA

Text of Indo-Soviet Summit Statement
46000059 *New Delhi PATRIOT in English*
21 Nov 88 p 6

[Text] The following is the text of the Indo-Soviet Summit statement issued on Sunday at the end of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's three-day visit.

The Republic of India and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics note with deep satisfaction that the principles of new political thinking embodied in the Delhi Declaration have generated an increasingly wide response throughout the world. The Delhi Declaration contains the basic tenets of the philosophy of survival and progress in the nuclear and space age, positively influences the general political climate in the world and gives a stimulus to the reshaping of international relations. It reflects the common perceptions of the two countries on global issues and their common vision for the future of humankind.

Developments over the last two years have shown that, given political will, a new concept of a safer and a more just world can acquire universal acceptance. The signing of the INF Treaty, the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan, the ceasefire in the Iran-Iraq war and the positive moves towards a settlement of conflicts in South-East Asia, South-West Africa and other parts of the world have demonstrated the timeliness and vitality of the Delhi Declaration.

India and the Soviet Union believe that today's interdependent world is the common home of humankind and every individual has an equal right to use its resources. They emphasise the importance of efforts by all States to develop a comprehensive global system of international security.

The parties believe that the new approach to international relations, enunciated in the Delhi Declaration, requires a change in doctrines, policies and institutions to build and sustain a nuclear-weapon free and non-violent world. This needs demilitarisation, democratisation and humanisation of international relations. They reaffirm that militarism, power politics, and the division of the world into military alliances have engendered suspicion and hostility and should be discarded. There should be no military bases or facilities outside national borders.

Both parties agree that disarmament, and especially nuclear disarmament, is today the primary issue that concerns all nations and peoples. The momentum generated recently in this field must be preserved and further strengthened. Urgent steps must be taken to immediately suspend and ban nuclear-weapon testing, to prevent an arms race in outer space and conclude an agreement on 50 percent reduction in strategic nuclear weapons, to move towards the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction, above all nuclear weapons, and establish international control over the emerging new technologies with military potential. An International Convention banning the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons and a global convention on the comprehensive prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, including binary weapons, should be concluded immediately.

India and the Soviet Union consider that all nuclear-weapon States should join the nuclear disarmament process. The Soviet Programme for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons by 2000 AD and India's Action Plan for ushering in a nuclear-weapon free and non-violent world order by 2010 AD are detailed blueprints addressed to the world community. Both sides stand for an increased role of multilateral fora in the process of disarmament, and for a single integrated multilateral verification system.

India and the Soviet Union reiterate their support for the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan and call for their strict and sincere implementation by all parties concerned. The two countries deplore the obstructionist policy of certain forces which are violating the Accords. They express concern over the continued bloodshed in Afghanistan and affirm that the process of national reconciliation should be encouraged. India and the Soviet Union appeal to the UN Secretary General to implement without delay the mandate given to him by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution on Afghanistan which emphasises the need for an intra-Afghan dialogue for the establishment of a broad-based Government. The formation of such a government in Afghanistan is a matter exclusively for the Afghan people to decide. The preservation of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence and nonaligned character of Afghanistan, is vital for the solution of the Afghan problem. A UN-supported international conference may be needed for this purpose.

India and the Soviet Union express concern at the situation in West Asia, aggravated by the escalation of the arms race in the region. The two parties welcome the realism and responsibility shown by the Palestinian leadership, and support the decision of the Palestinian National Council on the creation of an independent Palestinian State within the framework of a just and comprehensive West Asian settlement. They reaffirm their call for the early start of preparatory work to convene the UN-sponsored international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned on an equal footing.

India and the Soviet Union express their satisfaction at the UN-sponsored ceasefire between Iraq and Iran and hope that it would lead to the establishment of a just and lasting peace between the two countries.

The two parties urge all concerned to step up their efforts to achieve a political settlement in Kampuchea that ensures its peaceful, sovereign, independent, nonaligned status, free of the threat of restoration of the genocidal regime. They welcome the Jakarta Informal Meeting process, the initiative undertaken within the framework of the Nonaligned Movement and the dialogue which has been recently resumed in Paris, and hope that these will lead to an early solution.

The sides believe that the reduction of tension in the Korean peninsula would be a major contribution to the improvement of the situation in Asia. They support the development of a broad constructive dialogue in the interest of the entire Korean people.

India and the Soviet Union reaffirm their determination to pursue their endeavour to attain the objectives embodied in the 1971 UN Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. They call for the dismantling of all foreign military bases, and for preventing the creation of new ones, and condemn attempts to build up foreign military presences in the Indian Ocean. They urge the early convening of an international conference on the Indian Ocean, not later than 1990, in accordance with the latest UN General Assembly Resolution.

The two States reiterate their support for the just demand of Mauritius relating to the restoration of its sovereignty over the Chagos Archipelago, including Diego Garcia.

India and the Soviet Union strongly condemn racialism in all its forms and manifestations, wherever it may occur. They reaffirm their unwavering support for the struggle of the people of South Africa. In this context, they recall that the UN Charter envisages a number of measures, including the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions for dismantling racism and apartheid. Both sides welcome the Angolan-Cuban initiatives for a settlement in South-West Africa and express their belief that progress in the talks opens the way to the unconditional implementation of the Security Council Resolution on Namibian independence. India and the Soviet Union appreciate the important role of the AFRICA FUND established by the Nonaligned Movement.

The two countries reiterate their support for a just political settlement of the situation in the region of Central America, based on ensuring the security of all the States of the region and respect for their sovereignty, national independence and right to self-determination, without outside interference in their internal affairs. India and the Soviet Union call for the cessation of all forms of external pressures and acts of aggression against the independent countries situated in the region. They express their support for the constructive initiatives of the nonaligned countries, the Contadora Group, and the Group of Support. They also endorse the Guatemala Agreement.

India and the Soviet Union believe that universal peace and stability can only be built on economically sound foundations. A new International Economic Order should be established on a just and equitable basis. Urgent and serious steps need to be taken to resolve the growing global debt problem, and the crisis of the international monetary and financial systems. The fall in prices of commodities harms the interests of many countries. The obstacles to the transfer of technology

have to be removed and artificial trade barriers dismantled. The resources saved as a result of disarmament should be transferred for developmental purposes. The decisions taken by the UN Conference on Disarmament and Development should be implemented.

The two countries urge the adoption, with UN support, of a global strategy of environmental protection and the rational exploitation of the earth's resources.

India and the Soviet Union stress that the responsibility for the future of the world rests with all countries, big and small. The United Nations is an indispensable institution for finding peaceful solutions to international problems and crisis situations, and resolving other global issues. They note with satisfaction the recent growing activity of the UN and its bodies, and will further promote an increase in the authority and potential of this universal Organisation. At the same time, the UN system must adapt to and reflect the changing realities of the world so that it can better fulfil its mission.

India and the Soviet Union emphasise the outstanding role of the Nonaligned Movement in the world. It has emerged as a constructive and influential pioneering force for resolving the problems of peace, disarmament and development, and has made its contribution to the relaxation of international tensions. The parties are deeply convinced that the Movement will continue to play an ever-increasing role to meet the challenges confronting the world.

The two parties believe that people-to-people contacts between countries should be encouraged to improve trust and understanding. This could be done by developing tourism, trade, greater interaction among scholars, journalists, parliamentarians, politicians and other representatives of the people as well as through festivals of culture.

Relations between India and the Soviet Union have deep roots, and are a model of constructive cooperation between two countries with different socio-political systems. They are characterised by sincere friendship and mutual understanding. They have witnessed a steady and uninterrupted growth for decades. The Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation is an outstanding milestone in their relations and provides a reliable and time-tested framework for the further development of these relations and for promoting peace and stability in Asia and the world. The fundamental importance of the Treaty in the foreign policy priorities of India and the Soviet Union is even greater in today's changing world.

Regular visits at the highest level in recent years have given a qualitatively new character and dynamism to Indo-Soviet relations. These relations are marked by

growing mutual trust and confidence, intensified economic, scientific and technological cooperation encompassing new areas and forms, and greater people-to-people contacts. This is reflected most vividly in the unprecedented large-scale Festivals of India and the Soviet Union in each other's countries, marking the 40th Anniversary of India's Independence and the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Both have been unique events in spreading friendship and goodwill.

It was decided to continue the tradition of visits at the highest levels, frequent consultations and joint actions on the major issues before the world community today, such as disarmament, the peaceful settlement of regional disputes and conflicts, and the establishment of a more just and democratic world order.

In the economic sphere, they feel it is important to utilise to the fullest extent the new potential and opportunities created by the modernisation and changing character of the Indian and Soviet economies. The two parties believe that it is essential to identify and take full advantage of the emerging complementarities in their respective economies to develop new forms of mutually advantageous economic cooperation, including joint ventures. It is necessary to modify the structure of trade and to evolve new strategies for ensuring dynamic growth. They will make every effort to maintain the accelerated growth in trade achieved since 1986 and will work out a Long-Term Programme for Economic, Trade, Scientific and Technical Cooperation till 2000.

India and the Soviet Union also agree that it is necessary to meet the increasing requirements of both countries for high quality products of latest technology by offering to each other latest indigenously developed technologies and work out specific projects of cooperation, including through joint research and development.

The two parties reiterate their desire to continue the healthy tradition of the Festivals of India and the Soviet Union by holding periodic festivals between Indian States and Soviet Republics, and to commemorate the 20th Anniversary of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation and the 5th Anniversary of the Delhi Declaration on Principles of a Nuclear-Weapon Free and Non-Violent World by holding cultural festivities, scientific symposia and public conferences.

India and the Soviet Union express their firm resolve to further develop and deepen their ties in all spheres. The development of Indo-Soviet relations serves the interest of their peoples and is an important factor in strengthening peace and security on a comprehensive basis, and in promoting development in Asia and throughout the world.

[signed] R. Gandhi Prime Minister of the Republic of India

[signed] M. Gorbachev General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR

New Delhi 20 November 1988

Imports From USSR Will Cost Far More
46001195 Calcutta *THE TELEGRAPH* in English
29 Nov 88 p 7

[Article by K. K. Sharma]

[Text] New Delhi, 28 November—The recent visit of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet President, has served to strengthen relations further with India but there are still some misgivings about what impact his Perestroika policies will have on economic relations between the two countries.

The main fear is that prices of Soviet exports to India will be raised sharply because each Russian plant is now expected to show substantial profits on its production and exports. This will affect goods in the normal trade exchanges as well as defence equipment for which India is heavily dependent on Russia.

Until now, Russia has charged a nominal 2.5 percent interest rate for credits that it has given liberally and spread the repayments over 15 years with a grace period of 3 years. This means there has been a substantial grant element in the terms.

The terms are now being stiffened because the interest rates will be raised slightly while repayments will be required to be made in 10 years with a 2 year grace period. This will add considerably to India's burdens at a time when the government is facing a resources crunch.

The other main problem being faced in Indo-Soviet economic relations is the Russian insistence on what they call "unit-to-unit balancing." Under this, each plant is required to insist on an equal value of imports by any country that exports to it.

India has pointed out that the "unit-to-unit" balancing will seriously hold up expansion of trade since this is impossible for Indian plants and firms to comply with. Officials have suggested a reversion to overall trade balance.

Indications are the Russians will agree with the Indian suggestion and this could mean a major concession to this country since it means a slight dilution of Perestroika. An announcement on this is expected soon.

Despite the rhetoric about expanding Indo-Soviet economic relations, there are some serious problems being encountered in bringing about a balanced trade. In the trade protocol for next year, India has been provided for a surplus of Rs 600 crores.

This will add further to the problem of accumulating "technical credits" that are mounting because of the inability of Russia to provide sufficient items of import by India as in the past when the main Soviet exports was—and remains—crude oil and petroleum products.

This is sought to be rectified by identifying a number of major projects that will use Soviet plant and machinery and so increase Russian exports to India. However, these will be implemented over a long period and the Soviet exports on this count have still not started.

Nevertheless, Russia continues to be a major trading partner of this country and officials hope that the target of increasing the two way trade turnover by 250 percent by 1992 will be achieved. If so, Russia will displace the U.S. as India's largest trading partner.

Meanwhile, another major area of concern in India's foreign trade is the European Economic Community, with which there has been a constant and large adverse balance of trade, partly because Europe is a traditional source of imports of capital goods and industrial machinery, components and raw materials.

Discussions spread over a number of years with individual members of the community as well as with the EEC Commission at Brussels has not yielded results, even though the European countries concerned have promised to take steps to increase their imports from India.

This assumes considerable significance because in 1992, a single market concept will come into operation in Europe and there is thus a need to understand each other's standards. At that time, national standards will be replaced by a common European standard.

This is of considerable importance since Indian companies must then need to know what the standard requirements are of the European community as a whole.

Gandhi Promises 'Perestroika,' Constitutional Change
46001178 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
26 Nov 88 pp 1, 9

[Article by Mohan Sahay]

[Text] Sheikhpura, (Bihar), 25 Nov—Mr Rajiv Gandhi today said that his Government intended to bring major changes in the Constitution to redefine the existing "power structure" both at the Centre and in the States. Announcing the Congress(I) "perestroika" at a public meeting here to mark the concluding function of the year-long birth centenary celebration of Sri Krishna Sinha, the first Chief Minister of Bihar, Mr Gandhi said the necessary changes would be made in the Constitution next year.

The Prime Minister declared that the Indian democracy should not be looked from Delhi and Patna alone. The Restructuring and redelegation of power would affect the Centre and the State administration right from district to the panchayat level once the changes were brought about, Mr Gandhi said.

Mr Gandhi said that before introducing the changes in the Constitution, "I would like to have a full national debate on the subject." He left the audience guessing whether the desired changes in the Constitution would be affected by this Lok Sabha or the next one after the general elections. However he was categorical in his declaration that it (changes in the Constitution) would be made next year.

Mr Gandhi not only admitted the lacunae in the existing programme of poverty eradication like the integral Rural Development and National Rural Employment programmes these were being implemented. They were mostly implemented on papers only, he said. Whenever "I enquired about the implementation of the programmes meant for the weaker and poor sections I got only the statistics which were far from real," Mr Gandhi said. He cited how the various loans and subsidies were seldom paid to the beneficiaries and how one "buffalo makes several rounds by changing hands under the IRDP programme."

Mr Gandhi lamented that 85 percent of the national income is wasted in meeting the "establishment costs." Whether it is the Centre or the State, a major chunk of the resources go in paying wage bills while only 15 percent is left for development work. How long should this situation be allowed to continue, Mr Gandhi asked, and said that something has to be done to stop this.

The Prime Minister said, "If we look at Bihar we find a lot has to be done in this State." It requires "political will" to implement programmes like land reforms and better road communications, he said. Looking at the Chief Minister, Mr Bhagwati Jha Azad, Mr Gandhi said, "though Mr Azad has taken one or two commendable steps in Bihar but I would like to remind him that there are a hundred maybe a thousand more steps to be taken in Bihar to remove the poverty and ignorance from here."

Emphasizing the need to revive the Gandhian concept of initiating progress from the village, the Prime Minister said it was unfortunate many senior politicians and bureaucrats holding high position and office "never studied Gandhi, Nehru or Indiraji's concept of social changes."

Paying rich tributes to Sri Krishna Sinha, Mr Gandhi said Bihar was then a well administered State but things were not the same now. With recurrence of violence, casteism and atrocities, like in Jehanabad, it was difficult to march on the road to progress. He admitted that the police force would have to be restructured.

India Opposed to Regional Human Rights Panel
46001179 Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English
27 Nov 88 p 3

[Text] United Nations, 26 Nov (UNI)—India has rebuffed an Australian attempt to establish a United Nations agency for monitoring human rights violations in Asia and the Pacific.

"Regional cooperation would be useful," an Indian delegate told the UN General Assembly's social committee, but "should not be carried so far as to detract from the existing institutions."

"Any further consideration of the idea of regional action in the domain of human rights in Asia should proceed only after the widest possible consultations with the member states concerned," stressed India's UN envoy, Mr Chinmaya Gharekhan.

This was advisable "specially in view of the absence of social or cultural homogeneity in the Asian region, unlike the case of several other regions in the world," the Indian official pointed out.

The proposal originally came from Sri Lanka, but was subsequently "hijacked" by Australia, which saw its potential as a device to embarrass "unfriendly" governments, an Indian official privately said.

The official added that references in the Australian proposal to a human rights monitoring agency had been "dropped" following India's insistence.

Initially, the proposal sought to establish a depository centre for "UN human rights materials" within the economic and social commission for Asia and the Pacific in Bangkok.

But the commission's deputy executive secretary has informed the UN under-secretary general for human rights that the agency does not have "a mandate to establish a separate depository centre for human rights materials."

Mr Gharekhan acknowledged that "regional cooperation would be useful in promoting an exchange of national experience in protection and promotion of human rights.

But "these should not be carried so far as to detract from the primary importance of the existing global institutions or the dilution of the commitments to human rights enshrined in the existing international instruments," he emphasised.

On international cooperation to avert new flow of refugees, the Indian official cautioned against involving non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in monitoring such exodus.

"Non-government organisations cannot take over the role of concerned member states on this question," Mr Gharekhan asserted, dismissing a suggestion made in secretary general Javier Perez de Cuellar's report.

"Such a role by non-governmental organisations has the potential for interference in the internal affairs of states," he warned.

Mr Gharekhan also rebutted a western suggestion—made in a statement on behalf of the European Twelve—that governments in newly independent countries were not keen to ensure human rights of their citizens.

"No nation could be more interested in the implementation of human rights than former colonies, whose memories of wrong doings, injustices and violations of human rights at the hands of their former colonial oppressors are still fresh in their minds."

SWAPO Leader Gives Details on Indian Help
46001180 New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English
27 Nov 88 p 6

[Text] South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) President Sam Nujoma said on Saturday that the (SWAPO) had the "legitimate" right to seek support of India and other friendly countries if the Pretoria continued its aggression against Namibia. He expressed his gratitude to India for its material, political and diplomatic help to the SWAPO's struggle against apartheid.

Talking to newsmen after meeting Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi whom he had briefed on the present political situation in Namibia, he said that Mr Gandhi, Indian Government and the Congress have pledged their all-round support to the Namibian people's struggle.

He said that India has made available 18 trucks, 12 jeeps, two X-ray machines and one generator through African Fund. Contributions from the non-aligned countries to the African Fund have been of great help to the Frontline States, Mr Nujoma said, and hoped that more non-aligned countries would contribute to it.

The elections in Namibia which are likely to take place in August or September next year under the aegis of the United Nations, will be followed by the proclamation of independence. Members of the constituent assembly would also be elected through the elections, who would draw out the constitution for Namibia, he said.

South Africa was forced to accept the UN Resolution 435 for an end to the racist regime in the face of the political pressure and mounting resistance by the Namibian combatants. Mr Nujoma said that the Namibian people would be mobilised to vote for the SWAPO. However, he feared that the racist South African regime might rig the elections.

"The coming elections," Mr Nujoma said, "would take place on a multi-party basis. If there is going to be a one-party system, this must be decided by the people."

He said that South Africa has its puppets in Namibia to whom it gives a lot of money and who try to delay the cause of Namibia's independence. "They would contest elections but would certainly be defeated," Mr Nujoma claimed.

The South African economy has been in a shambles and the racist regime isolated because of the changed geopolitical situation. The peace efforts of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and American President Ronald Reagan have created a favourable situation for negotiations in Central America negotiations between Vietnam and Kampuchea and the latest development in Palestine. The overall geo-political situation has changed, he said.

India and other countries which have held democratic elections, Mr Nujoma said, would provide guidelines for fair and democratic elections in Namibia. He and his colleagues had visited some industries in India particularly those belonging to the Tata group of companies. India's cooperation with its technical superiority, would help in breaking the stronghold of colonialism, he said.

Asked whether he would like to become the Prime Minister of independent Namibia, Mr Nujoma said, it was for his colleagues to decide.

Rajiv's Schemes for Women An Eyewash, Says CPI(M)
46001194 Madras *THE HINDU* in English
28 Nov 88 p 3

[Text] Madras, 27 November—Mr B. T. Ranadive, politburo member of the CPI(M), today called upon the forces of democracy and secularism to combine and see that the Congress(I) was defeated in the next elections to the Lok Sabha.

Speaking at a public meeting at Tondiarpet at the conclusion of the party's four-day 13th State-level conference here on Saturday, Mr Ranadive cautioned that allowing the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, to remain in power for another five-year term would be the "biggest danger to democracy."

Mr Rajiv Gandhi considered the CPI(M) his main enemy and the Congress(I) had launched a campaign of not only slander but also violence in the CPI(M)-ruled States of Kerala and West Bengal, he said.

Mr Ranadive charged the Congress(I) with not being interested in the preservation of national unity. He also alleged that Mr Gandhi had allowed the communal forces to go scot free.

The CPI(M) leader advised women not to be deceived by the various programmes announced by the Prime Minister for their welfare. Mr Gandhi sold away the fundamental rights of the Muslim women to appease the fundamentalists, was not concerned about the sati being practised even now in some parts of the country and could not prevent the atrocities on Harijans and tribal women. In general, he could not eliminate the oppression and in equality practised against women, he said. Hence, "Mr Gandhi's so-called women development programmes are simply an eyewash," he said.

As for elections to the Tamil Nadu Assembly, he said the verdict would play a crucial role in the sagging fortune of the Congress(I) and hence it would not hesitate to resort to any tactics. "It is necessary to mobilise all progressive forces and defeat the Congress(I)." At the same time, reactionary, communal and casteist elements should be isolated, he added.

Opposition to Hindi: The Chief Minister of Kerala, Mr E. K. Nayanar, questioned the propriety of the Prime Minister's vituperation against those who opposed Hindi. Quoting newspaper reports, Mr Nayanar asked "is it not beneath the dignity of the Prime Minister to say that those who oppose Hindi will be driven out? Will it not affect national unity and integrity and encourage divisive forces?" How could Mr Rajiv Gandhi talk like this when his grandfather had given an assurance against imposition of Hindi, he asked. He also accused the Congress(I) of double standard with regard to language policy. While it advocated a three-language formula, in various Congress(I) ruled States, only a two-language formula was being followed, he said.

Mr Nayanar also ridiculed the resolution of the recent AICC(I) session which said that the party would have no truck with communal and separatist forces. "This party has been aligning itself with communal parties in Kerala and in order to win Panchayat elections this year, it had an understanding with both the RSS and the Indian Union Muslim League," he added.

Mr Nayanar said that he had the courage to say openly that he would dismiss any Minister in his Cabinet within 24 hours if he was proved corrupt. But would Mr Gandhi say anything of this kind when he himself had come under a cloud, he asked. He also alleged that the Congress(I) was fomenting trouble in many parties in Tamil Nadu and adopting unprincipled tactics to win the elections.

Mr A. Nallasivan, Secretary of the State unit, alleged that the Tamil Nadu administration was winking at the various activities of the Vanniyar Sangam to help the Congress(I) secure political gains. He said all the left and democratic forces should combine to teach a lesson to the Congress(I).

Mr R. Umanath, member of the Central Committee, said the national perspective plan for women, recently announced by the Prime Minister, did not have any allocation in the budget and hence was bogus. If the Congress(I) was elected to power in the State, it would be "more corrupt than its predecessor," he observed.

Mr N. Sankariah, also a member of the Central Committee, said Mr Gandhi was misusing official functions for party propaganda and public funds were being squandered away on his visits of the State.

Mr P.R. Parameswaran, chairman of the reception committee of the Conference, called for a fight against communal forces.

Newly Published Documents Revive Questions on Bofors

Summary of Documents

46001187 Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English
26 Nov 88 p 4

[Text] New Delhi, 25 Nov—THE HINDU today published a report with "new documentary evidence of an incontrovertible nature" that the payoff in the Bofors gun deal was a commission and not winding-up charges as was claimed by the Swedish company.

The report, credited jointly to Ms Chitra Subramaniam, the paper's correspondent in Geneva, and Mr N. Ram, associate editor, carried the photostat copies of a sample of the new documents to show "how untenable the Bofors winding-up story is, and also its line of no commissions, no middlemen, no Indians, no payment for anything related to the winning of the Howitzer contract."

The report said: "The new material establishes further the connection between Svenska Incorporated, registered in Panama, and Mr Win Chadha's Anatronc General Corporation, registered in India, by making it plain that they represent two parallel tracts—a black and white tract, as it were—and two enabling arrangements which are directly linked, cover the same "services" rendered in India and work for the same beneficiaries or distribution arrangements."

The new documentation published by THE HINDU included the "separate agreements" entered into between Bofors and Svenska in 1982 and 1984. These, it asserted, "state explicitly that the 'commission' payable to Svenska was for its participation in "the special promotion of our business in India with regards to the...Field Howitzer FH 77B weapon system and its ammunition and accessories as offered by Bofors."

THE HINDU report claimed that "this evidence demolishes the fiction still maintained by Bofors that, to its knowledge, Svenska had nothing to do with Indians and was not paid for anything done in India for the winning

of the Howitzer contract." Further, the separate agreement of 1984, the report went on to say, "makes payment of 'commission' to Svenska "subject however to you or the Bofors sole representative in the territory giving us satisfactory confirmation that the order is a result of your effort."

The daily said "the new documentary evidence disproves the assertions made on behalf of the Government of India and the Congress(I) that the Bofors payments of the order of Rs 64 crores to faceless entities did not appear to involve Indians, had nothing to do with services rendered for the winning of the Howitzer contract, and could have been for "some genuine work that was done for Bofors' by non-Indians."

THE HINDU also quoted entries from the diary kept by Mr Martin Ardbo, former Bofors chief executive, in 1987. "The documentation establishes, through the blow-by-blow account offered by the Martin Ardbo diary entries and other material, that from the start, crisis management was guided from London, with certain official inputs from India."

The report said Mr Ardbo referred in his own handwriting to at least four London meetings between January and October, 1987 (the first meeting preceded the surfacing of the scandal on 16 April 1987). The meetings, THE HINDU said, involved Mr Ardbo and "H" or "GPH" or "SP, GP" or "Hansson." According to Mr Ardbo's diary, Mr Per Ove Morberg and Mr Lars Gothlin, the two senior Bofors representatives who came to India in September 1987 to discuss matters with an official team and also depose before the joint Parliamentary Committee, participated in a London meeting soon after their visit to India.

THE HINDU has claimed that the new documentation on the Bofors-Svenska and the Bofors-Anatronic enabling arrangements disprove the claim that the admitted payment of 188.4 million Swedish kroners to Svenska Incorporated had nothing to do with the "winning" of the Howitzer deal with India on 24 March 1986. Indeed, Bofors specifically lays down the condition that "satisfactory confirmation" must be provided "that the order is the result of your efforts."

The newspaper has produced two sets of documents on the "separate agreements." The first agreement signed on 30 November 1982 "provides for a commission of six per cent of the ex-works value of contracts entered into by the government of India not later than 30 September 1984, for delivery of above-mentioned products." The second agreement dated 15 March 1984 carries the same reference "REPR," and provides for the same "commission" on "the ex-works value of contracts entered into by the Government of India not later than 30 September 1987 for delivery of above-mentioned products." Both the agreements, signed by Mr Hans Ekholm for Bofors, also lay down the mode or formula for entitlement of payments.

THE HINDU said while Bofors confirmed its "readiness to pay the commission in any currency or in any country to be designated by you," the condition is laid down in separate agreements that the prevailing official rates of exchange would have to be applied, and "we can use an international bank for the transfer of the sum of money."

Bofors Lies Alleged

46001187 Madras THE HINDU in English
26 Nov 88 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, 25 Nov—In the light of the new documentary evidence published today in this newspaper revealing a direct link between the payments to Svenska Incorporated and the promotion of the sale of the Bofors Howitzer to India, it becomes clear that the Bofors officials told an untruth to the Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) when they testified that none of the three companies which had received the Bofors payments had been used in 'any manner within the territory of India.'

As the two agreements between Bofors and Svenska in November 1982 and March 1984 published in this newspaper show, commission was payable to Svenska for its participation in 'the special' promotion of our business in India with regard to the field howitzer FH77 B weapons system and its ammunition and accessories as offered by Bofors.' The agreement of 1984 makes more explicit the link between Svenska and the howitzer deal by stating that the commission payable was, however, 'subject to you (Svenska) or the Bofors' sole representative (Mr Win Chadha) in the territory giving us satisfactory confirmation that the order is the result of your efforts.'

Thus to deny that the recipient companies were used within India was to mislead the Joint Parliamentary Committee. But apparently that was just what the Bofors officials did. The Bofors representatives, Mr Per Ove Morberg and Mr Lars Gothlin, are recorded in the report of the JPC (page 174) as having denied to the Committee that 'these companies were anything more than consultants to Bofors.' These representatives are also on record as having said that these companies 'were not used in any manner within the territory of India.'

The JPC report says that the Bofors representatives admitted that the three companies not domiciled in India were 'assisting them in connection with the contract for the FH77 B howitzer gun under consideration of the Ministry of Defence.' That the services rendered by Svenska were of a nature that transcended 'assistance' or 'consultation' is evident from the fact that the Svenska-Bofors agreement of 1982 and 1984 states: 'We hereby record and confirm that before you undertook the promotional activities aforesaid (referring to the FH77 B) we did agree to pay you and we shall be obliged to pay

you a commission of 6 per cent of the ex-works value of contracts entered into by the Government of India not later than 30 September 1987 for delivery of the above-mentioned products.'

The JPC has evidently taken the word of the Bofors representatives at face value and resigned itself to the expressed inability of these officials on the ground of 'commercial secrecy' to 'furnish copies of their initial as well as the termination agreements with the three companies to whom winding up costs were paid.' The new published evidence also renders extremely ironic the JPC's ultimate conclusion (page 191 of the report) that 'there is no evidence to show that any middleman was involved in the process of the acquisition of the Bofors gun. There is also no evidence to substantiate the allegation of commission or bribes having been paid to anyone...'

'A Bombshell'

The BJP president, Mr L. K. Advani, has described today's revelations as 'a real bombshell which has completely ripped apart the cover story, fabricated by Bofors and the Government of India to conceal the scandal.' In a statement, he said that the country owed an immense debt of gratitude to the paper for these disclosures.

If the revelations of last April and June were a major breakthrough, today's disclosures had totally knocked the bottom out of the Government's case on the issue, Mr Advani said. The documents published had clearly indicated that both the Government of India and AB Bofors were lying when they said that the SEK 320 millions paid into various Swiss bank accounts were winding-up charges, and not commissions, and that they were not paid to any Indian. The Prime Minister further said that these payments could have been for genuine work such as industrial espionage. They had repeatedly asserted that these payments had had nothing to do with the procurement of the gun deal.

The document reproduced by THE HINDU today showed that Bofors itself as admitting that the payments were in discharge of a 'separate agreement for the special promotion of sales of Bofors Field Howitzer FH 77 weapon system.' With this statement even the 'genuine work' thesis of the Prime Minister stood exploded. The Rs 64 crores paid had been proved to be a plain bribe to seal the deal. 'The nation is keen to know who are the actual recipients of this bribe,' Mr Advani said.

Now that the cover-up story had been torn apart there was talk in Government circles about asking Bofors to pay back Rs 64 crores. The crime was too serious to be atoned in this manner since the country had been defrauded by Bofors. 'While the country one day will certainly find out who are the collaborators of Bofors in this fraud, the minimum expected from the Government of India after these revelations is that AB Bofors must be blacklisted for future contracts,' he said.

Reaction in Parliament

46001187 Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English
26 Nov 88 p 1

[Excerpt] New Delhi, 26 Nov (PTI)—After a brief respite, the Bofors issue sparked off uproar in Parliament today following the publication of certain new documents relating to the Rs 1400-crore gun deal in THE HINDU this morning.

The Lok Sabha witnessed noisy scenes for nearly 30 minutes with the opposition censuring the government over "fresh evidence" published in the daily.

Amidst loud interruptions from the Congress members Mr Basudeb Acharya (CPM), whose adjournment motion on the issue was disallowed, claimed that the documents had disproved the claims by the Prime Minister and the defence minister that no commission had been paid in the Bofors deal.

In the Rajya Sabha, the Janata leader, Mr M. S. Gurupadaswamy, raised the matter through a special mention and demanded the constitution of a fresh joint parliamentary committee headed by the opposition to probe the issue.

He said THE HINDU documents proved that the government theory regarding the payments was a "fabrication and total distortion" of the facts.

He said it was evident from the documents that three companies had received payments for the services to get the Bofors gun contract from the Indian Government.

In one of the documents, it was made clear by Bofors that the order from the Indian Government was received as a "result of your effort."

Mr Gurupadaswamy said THE HINDU had published other documents in April and June and they should be gone into.

The member also said that the chairman of the Bofors company had a meeting with officials of his company in London on their return from India after appearing before the joint parliamentary committee.

The main purpose of the meeting was to "cover up" and to protect the beneficiaries, Mr Gurupadaswamy said.

He demanded that the Swedish firm be blacklisted and asked to return the Rs 64 crore they had received as payment for the order.

Mr Gurupadaswamy said it was evident from the documents that the amounts given to Svenska and others were not termination charges but payments made for services rendered.

The deputy chairman, Mrs Najma Heptullah, refused permission to other opposition members, including Mr Dipen Ghosh (CPM), who rose, to make any additional submissions on the issue.

In the Lok Sabha, Mr Madhu Dandavate (Janata) and other opposition leaders demanded a comprehensive government statement on the issue alleging that Bofors had misled the Parliament and the nation.

The deputy speaker, Mr Thambi Durai, however, disallowed an adjournment motion saying the Prime Minister had entrusted the matter to the CBI and it was finding out the facts.

Mr Dandavate gave notice of a motion under rule 184 providing for discussion on a matter of public interest.

His motion, released to the press, said: "The house do demand a comprehensive statement from the defence minister regarding the new documents clearly establishing that Bofors had misled Parliament and the nation when it consistently claimed that it had no knowledge of the involvement of Indians in the enabling arrangements for pay-off of about Rs 64 crore, that the 1986 payments were 'winding up' costs and not 'commission' and that they had nothing to do with 'services rendered in India' for the winning of howitzer contract of 24 March 1986."

Mr Dandavate and Mr V. Kishore Chandra Deo (Congress-S) said they had received an explanatory memorandum from the Prime Minister denying all allegations regarding pay-off and middle-men. But today's HINDU report gave a different version, they said.

Mr Dandavate said the Prime Minister's memorandum to him was in reply to the privilege notice he had given against Mr Rajiv Gandhi and the defence minister.

Mr Dinesh Goswamy (AGP), Mr Thampan Thomas (Janata Dal), Mr Indrajit Gupta (CPI) and other opposition leaders supported Mr Dandavate, contending that a breach of privilege had been committed. [passage omitted]

Response From Gandhi

46001187 Madras THE HINDU in English
26 Nov 88 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, 25 Nov—The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, maintains, as of a memo dated 22 November, that the issue of the authenticity of the documents published by THE HINDU (in April and June 1988) on the Bofors deal as well as the issue of nature of payments reflected by them is still under inquiry by the CBI. He has categorically denied the suggestion that earlier statements made by him on the Bofors issue 'have sought to mislead the House.'

His remarks are available in a memorandum outlining his response to the notice of privilege on the Bofors issue served by Prof Madhu Dandavate (Janata), Mr Madhava Reddi (TDP), Mr Dinesh Goswami (AGP), Mr V. Kishore Chandra Singh Deo (Cong-S) and separately by Prof Thampan Thomas (Janata) on the count that he had misled the Lok Sabha on the Bofors issue. The Prime Minister said he had no objection to the memo signed by him being made available to the members concerned.

However, Mr Gandhi did not reply to the central issue raised by the set of 26 documents tabled on 15 November in the Lok Sabha and chose to confine his answer, as did the Defence Minister while replying to the debate, to three individual documents which they claimed did not add up to the allegations made.

Mr Gandhi noted, 'At the outset let me refute (the) allegation in unequivocal terms as alleged, much less deliberately so as an issue of the privilege could be raised.

'The suggestion that in earlier statements the Government have sought to mislead the House is categorically denied. The Government have always been prompt and forthright in sharing with the House all information available to it on the subject. The position reported to the House as quoted has been an accurate narration of information/facts made available or were available with the Government.

'The Government had made it clear that no middlemen or agents should be involved. An assurance/confirmation to this effect was also received through the then Prime Minister of Sweden. This position has been endorsed by the Joint Parliamentary Committee after scrutiny.

'The privilege notices are to the effect that a newspaper report quoted therein demonstrates the payment of a sum of SEK 3.21 million i.e. Rs 8.61 crores in account No 99921 TU of the Swiss Banking Corporation of Geneva.

'These are based on the statements of Shri V.P. Singh as has already been explained in the course of the extensive debate on 15/16 November. The papers published in the newspapers which has been relied on by MPs neither established the payment of SEK 3.21 million into the Swiss Banking Corporation nor that payments of this order have been made into account No 99921 TU. The statements made to the public and the press which formed the basis of the privilege motion could not be substantiated during the recent extensive debate in the House.

'The question of authenticity of certain papers published by THE HINDU which purport to reflect payments made by Bofors in connection with the FH-77B howitzer contract and issues arising there from, including the question about the nature of those payments, stands referred to the CBI for inquiry.

'The matter has already been extensively debated in the Lok Sabha on 15/16 November and the Government's position fully clarified.

'I reiterate that no attempt whatever has been made at any stage to mislead the Honourable House.'

Defense Minister's Remarks

46001187 Calcutta *THE SUNDAY STATESMAN*
in English 27 Nov 88 p 1

[Excerpt] Bangalore, 26 Nov—The Union Defence Minister, Mr K. C. Pant, today said the fresh documents published by THE HINDU will "go before the Central Bureau of Investigation" which is probing the alleged payment of commissions in the Bofors Howitzer deal, reports UNI.

Talking to journalists here, he said some documents were published by THE HINDU earlier also. "All these are being looked into by the CBI."

"Whatever needs to be done in the normal course will probably be done by the Ministry." Mr Pant, however, parried questions on whether the Bofors would be black-listed by the Government or fresh orders would be suspended.

"There have been long debates in Parliament on these questions. I have said all I have to say in Parliament. I have nothing new to add," was his reply to persistent questions by journalists. [passage omitted]

Border Security Forces Being Expanded, Modernized

46001183 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
30 Nov 88 p 3

[Text] The BSF [Border Security Forces] is being expanded and modernized to effectively deal with infiltration and crime along the West Bengal-Bangladesh border, according to Mr Shankar Sen, IG, BSF, in Calcutta on Monday. Mr Sen said that by 1991 there would be 17 BSF battalions in the State against the existing nine.

According to the plans, there will be 216 border outposts by 1991. At present there are 185 border outposts. These steps, Mr Sen hoped, would ensure effective patrolling along the border.

He said efforts were already on to raise the number of observation towers too. By 1991 there would be over 450 observation towers against the existing 78—giving two observation towers for each border outpost. The IG said that border roads were being constructed in 24-Parganas, Nadia, and West Dinajpur. It is planned to provide sophisticated equipment to the BSF, including vessels to patrol the riverine border in the Sunderbans.

Recently a new frontier of the BSF was created in the State with its headquarters in Siliguri. Now there are two BSF frontiers—South Bengal frontier and North Bengal frontier. With the creation of a new frontier, it is hoped that trans-border crime could be dealt with more firmly.

Admitting reports of infiltration from the border districts of 24-Parganas, Nadia and Murshidabad, Mr Sen said that the BSF had successfully intercepted many infiltrators. While many were pushed back, others were handed over to police. Mr Sen said that BSF personnel during the recent period had seized large quantity of smuggled goods, including narcotics and gold.

Till October this year narcotics worth over Rs 3 lakhs had been seized. The narcotics being smuggled across the border included opium and ganja. Till October this year, the BSF, according to Mr Sen, had seized gold worth over Rs 5 lakhs as against the Rs 2,29,348 worth of gold seized during the corresponding period last year.

The seizure of contraband goods in the South Bengal frontier till October this year had gone up by more than 9.6 percent compared to last year. The smuggled goods seized included ready made garments, electronic goods, fish, sugar, cycle and mustard oil.

Move To Give More Powers to District Councils

46001181 Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English
30 Nov 88 p 9

[Excerpts] New Delhi, 29 Nov—The Lok Sabha today adopted by 266 votes to 40 a Bill to amend the Sixth Schedule to the Constitutional (Amendment) Bill, 1988, which provides for discretionary powers to Governors of Mizoram and Tripura in respect of certain functions of the district regional councils there.

The move created great misgivings in the Opposition Benches as it was seen as a move to undermine the authority of elected bodies while providing further powers to the Governor.

But in his reply to a debate, the Minister of State for Home Affairs, Mr Santosh Mohan Dev, said the new measures were brought about after consulting State Governments. He even maintained that the "thrust" of the Bill was on giving more powers to the autonomous district councils. He added that the new measure would further protect the interests of the minority tribals.

Participating in the debate on the Bill, Mr Bajju Ban Riyan (CPI-M) said the district councils would be reduced to the status of municipal committees and would be at the mercy of the Governors. He, like many other Opposition members who followed him, demanded the withdrawal of the Bill. [passage omitted]

Mr Santosh Mohan Dev said in his reply that the minority tribals in Mizoram felt that their autonomy would be more meaningful and they would progress

faster if the State administration had less council over the district council in such matters as nomination of members, appointment of commission to inquire into their administration and their dissolution. The minority tribals wanted the Governor to exercise discretionary powers in these matters.

The memorandum of settlement on Mizoram and Tripura provided a commitment to the protection of tribal interests. The provisions of the Sixth Schedule had evolved a separate scheme for the administration of the tribal areas in Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram.

Mr Dev, however, said that the Government had not agreed to the demand that the district councils should be given funds directly.

IRAN

Mohtashemi Calls for Openness, Social Justice

46400051b Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian
24 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] Tehran—Islamic Republic News Agency—Minister of the Interior Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ali Akbar Mohtashemi spoke to a gathering of provincial deputy governors-general yesterday. He said: The people of our nation are prepared to accept every kind of deprivation for the revolution, provided that society's officials and managers are followers of the Imam and Islam and that they move in the direction of the revolution.

The minister of the interior was speaking yesterday afternoon at a seminar for the nation's deputy governors-general for planning and executive coordination. He added: Government managers must obtain and provide what the public needs, and this has nothing to do with the people's inclinations toward consumption and leisure.

He explained: The nation's political problems form where we ignore the principles of the revolution, and it is not acceptable to the people to have something imposed on them that is contrary to the revolution's declared principles and the ideals of Islam.

Mr Mohtashemi stressed that the nation's 5-year plan must be compiled precisely on the basis of Islamic ideals.

During his speech he stressed the importance of the people's awareness of the nation's current affairs. He considered awareness to be a demand of the people. He explained that the people are the most powerful fortress of the revolution and the government, because the people have not hesitated to sacrifice all their resources for the revolution.

Mr Mohtashemi also said that there must not be a veil between the people and the officials and that the imam's order with regard to informing the people about Carter's letter was published with this intention.

He said that the implementation of social justice must be at the top of the slate in all plans and programs and that the nation's managers and planners must give top priority to taking care of the oppressed and the deprived. If such plans are not presented and implemented, the reason must be sought.

In another portion of his talk, Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohtashemi discussed the necessity of concern for demands of the people. He said: In order to reject Americanized Islam, one must see to the needs of the poor and deprived, rural people, and especially the families of martyrs and unsupervised families.

Among the ways of meeting the goal of dealing with the affairs of the oppressed, he listed the implementation of the National Divisions Project and bringing the influence of the nation's executive apparatus into every corner of rural and urban society.

Elsewhere in his talk he discussed the irreconcilability of the Islamic Republic with America and the goals of the world-devourers. He added: In all our thoughts, plans and designs we must put forward our opposition to America and present the methods and goals of this opposition to the people. We must realize that the people are ready to make sacrifices for this purpose.

During this talk Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohtashemi explained that an important principle for the prophets was to have projects and plans, and that the prophets implemented these projects stage by stage.

In this regard, the minister of the interior mentioned the plans and divine commands of the esteemed Prophet of Islam (Peace Be Upon Him) and said that the Islamic commands were complete at the end of the 23-year mission of the seal of the prophets, and that these commands were not declared and put into practice from the first days.

He added: The Imam of the nation also implemented stage by stage his plans to overthrow the regime of idolaters, establish the rule of Islam and fight imperialism before the year 1342 [21 March 1963 - 20 March 1964], and he had precise plans for these stages.

The minister of the interior discussed the Ministry of the Interior's concern for education and stressed that the teachers and instructors in these educational centers must be chosen from among those who believe in the revolution and in the vice-regency of the chief theologian.

According to this report, in yesterday afternoon's seminar meeting for the nation's deputy governors-general for planning and executive coordination, initially elections were held for the coordination meetings in the provinces and then Mr Musa al-Reza, deputy for the

planning of services and management in the matter of executive affairs in the provinces, discussed the need for coordination in provincial executive affairs.

During the same meeting regional logistics and the role of the governors-general in its implementation were discussed and studied.

The seminar for the nation's deputy governors-general for planning and executive coordination continues today at the Ministry of the Interior.

SAIRI Leader Interviewed on Resistance Within Iraq

46400053a Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 13 Nov 88 p 10

[Interview with [Mohammad Baqer Hakim] SAIRI [Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution of Iraq] leader; place and date not given]

[Text] [KEYHAN]: What is your view of the future of the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution of Iraq after the acceptance of Resolution 598?

[Hakim]: In reality, the uprising of the Muslim people of Iraq against the Ba'thist regime has nothing to do with this regime's aggressive war against the Islamic Republic. Its roots go back to the Islamic struggles against the Ba'th regime during the period of the return to Islam led by the late Hakim. After that martyr, Seyyed Mohammad Baqer Sadr took over the leadership of this struggle, declaring his struggle against the Iraqi regime in 1979, but he was martyred at the hands of the Ba'th regime before the start of Iraq's aggressive war.

Therefore, even with the acceptance of Resolution 598 by the Islamic Republic, the confrontation with the regime must inevitably continue. Since the Supreme Revolutionary Council of Iraq has assumed leadership of the Islamic movement in this nation's struggle and is moreover regarded as the basic and principal current of struggle against the Ba'th regime, it is logical that this organization continue its struggle against the Ba'th regime of Iraq.

On the other hand, one must realize that the council's relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran are not merely tactical and logical; these relations are based on shared principles, beliefs and visions concerning the Islamic government. Moreover, these relations are based on the common and actual struggle against world imperialism, and this is something that has been emphasized in the constitution. Much emphasis has been given to support for liberation movements, especially Islamic movements.

In addition, the Muslim government of Iran's historic, social and religious relations with Iraq and the Islamic Republic's supportive position for the struggles of Muslim people logically raise the necessity for the Islamic Republic's continued support for the struggles of the people of Iraq.

Continued Confrontation With Iraqi Regime

[KEYHAN]: How will the confrontation by combative factions continue now against the Iraqi regime?

[Hakim]: Our confrontation with the Iraqi regime revolves around the following points:

1. The regime in power in Iraq is now vigorously pursuing the process of destruction of culture, identity and Islamic values. In turn, there is a natural state of anger and a struggle against these efforts by the Iraqi nation.

2. Currently the various classes of Iraqis are being subjected to the most violent crimes and oppression by the Iraqi regime. This oppression is being directed at all people, whether they follow a particular religious path or not. It includes every Iraqi of every race and religion. In this regard, Arab and Kurdish Muslims, Assyrians, Chaldeans, and all of today's other ethnic groups and religious sects are being subjected to the most violent purge-like attacks by the regime. The use of chemical weapons against the Kurds of northern Iraq illustrates this regime's savage fierceness and its measures to purge every kind of popular resistance. From the Islamic standpoint, the regime has in a set of guidelines ordered that all members of the Islamic movements are to be executed. It is thus clear that the regime's crimes affect the entire Iraqi nation.

Having listed the above points, it must be said that the continuation of the struggle and confrontation with the Iraqi regime requires that Iraqi dissidents understand the following three points:

1. There is a basic and unresolvable difficulty between the Iraqi nation and the regime in power, and a solution cannot be found without destroying the regime.

2. Because it has taken these criminal measures and because of its inhumane characteristics, the regime cannot be a part of the international community. Therefore Iraqi dissidents, by exposing the regime's true essence, must isolate it internationally.

3. With its way of administering the country and dealing with the nations of the region, the regime is seen as a real threat to the security of the region. An indication of this threat is its aggressive war against the Islamic Republic. Therefore as long as the regime remains, there is the possibility that such things will happen in the region.

Therefore this regime, with chemical weapons, long-range missiles and the presence of someone like Saddam who rules the nation in a personal dictatorship and has no respect for the nation, the law or the parliament, is seen as a true threat to the nations of the region. This regime now has deep-rooted border disputes with most of the nations of the region.

For the same reason, we believe that the pacts the regime has created with some of the nations of the region are the result of momentary conditions within the limited framework of regional circumstances.

Armed Confrontation

[KEYHAN]: How can Iraqi dissidents continue their armed confrontation?

[Hakim]: Armed confrontation is now taking place within the country, and there are plans to form cells for the crusade throughout Iraq. Of course some of these cells have already been formed in some Iraqi cities.

Along with the mobilization and crusade activities, a political mobilization must take place inside and outside the country, and a framework for common effort must be created for all Islamic and non-Islamic Iraqi opposition groups. In this regard it must be explained that one of the aims of my trip to Syria was to present an overall framework for struggle called 'Misaq' to the other Iraqi groups in Damascus. Another goal of my trip to Syria was to meet with Iraqi brothers and explain the Supreme Assembly's current strategy, to expand the council's activities and to open a council office in Damascus.

[KEYHAN]: How do you assess the West's current silence in the face of the Iraqi regime's use of chemical weapons?

[Hakim]: Throughout the war the Iraqi regime has used chemical weapons against military and nonmilitary Iranians, as well as against Kurds in northern Iraq and Iraqi Mojahedin in this country's southern swamps and marshes, but wartime conditions have not allowed the voice of the people to reach international organizations.

After the war however, international organizations blocked the continued use of chemical weapons. Everything was forgotten when these protests died down however, because the nations who were protesting against Iraq had a history of selling chemical weapons to this regime.

[KEYHAN]: In your view, will there be domestic changes in Iraq, and what faction is likely to be eliminated in these changes?

[Hakim]: The regime is currently using propaganda maliciously and extensively to mislead the people. Throughout the war this regime has used claims that Iran is expansionist as the basis of its propaganda.

Yet at the beginning it gave the return of lost rights as the reason for starting the war, and I believe that the regime's way of sabotaging the progress of the Geneva talks was actually intended to conceal the effects and crimes of the war and their results from the eyes of the people of Iraq and occupying them with other issues. For this reason the regime must answer the questions of the people concerning the results of the war, but the aim of the extensive propaganda being carried out even now is to occupy the people and divert their minds.

Meshkini on Reconstruction, Relieving Economic Pressures

46400051a Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian
19 Nov 88 p 3

[Text] Qom—The Friday prayer at Qom, the city of blood and revolution, was held yesterday, led by Ayatollah Meshkini, the Friday imam of this city, and attended by various classes of the partisans of God.

In his first sermon, while advising the prayers to be pious, he emphasized the need for special supervision of the young and the adolescent. He said: In view of the sensitivity of the adolescent years, it is the responsibility of mothers, fathers, clergymen and believers to keep youth away from moral deviation during these sensitive years by discussing and promoting divine commands.

In his second sermon, the Friday imam of Qom, while commemorating the joyous birth of the 11th imam (Peace Be Upon Him), condemned the recent decision by the gathering of the leaders of Arab nations and the so-called leaders of Palestine. He said: With this decision, in addition to validating the existence of the usurper Israeli regime, four-fifths of Palestine has been given to the Zionists while only one-fifth of this land belongs to the oppressed people of Palestine. Therefore, none of the Muslim nations are happy with the implementation of this decision.

Addressing the reactionary Arab leaders, he said: Such decisions are treason against the oppressed people of Palestine and support for usurper Israel.

Continuing his second sermon, Ayatollah Meshkini mentioned the news coverage of the preliminary phases of reconstruction. Addressing the government, he said: As a member of society and a scholar, I say on behalf of the nation that the first step towards reconstruction is for you to look at the oppressed people who have been trampled by economic terrorists and desk workers and see to their needs.

He added: Before dealing with projects in petrochemicals, gas and so forth, officials must save the people who have been caught in the swamp of high prices, inflation and political influence.

At the conclusion of the second sermon, the Qom Friday imam, mentioning the fact that officials are to an extent certain that the war will end, said: In view of this fact, I propose that the government obtain some credit to deliver the people from the pressures of inflation and high prices, because it will be possible to repay it with the country's oil and mineral reserves.

Minister Discusses Transportation Expansion Plans

46400046a Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian
22 Nov 88 p 2

[Interview with Minister of Roads and Transport Engineer Sa'idikia by the press in Mashhad; date not given]

[Text] Mashhad. ETTELA'AT correspondent. The comprehensive national railroad plan will be implemented starting next year.

Engineer Sa'idikia, the minister of roads and transport, who spoke at a seminar on the manpower of the national railroad in Mashhad, announced the above statement and added: The railroads of the Islamic Republic of Iran have numerous projects under way for the expansion of its network, the volume of which is 40 percent of the total present lines in the country.

Criticizing the transportation system of the country which was designed in the past with particular aims, the minister of roads and transport said: The railroads must take more responsibility in transportation.

Continuing his speech, he termed the present railroad system worn out after 40 years of continuous work and added: Efforts must be made to reconstruct it.

In concluding his speech, he called for managers focusing on new resources and innovations towards advancement in this organization.

This seminar continues for three days in Mashhad with the purpose of employing suitable methods to absorb, employ and train personnel and preserve railroads.

Interview With the Minister of Roads and Transport

Engineer Sa'idikia, the minister of roads and transport, also said in a press conference: On the basis of an agreement between Iran and the Soviet Union, a shipping line will be established in the Caspian Sea, and four ships belonging to the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Soviet Union will travel between Baku, Anzali and Nowshahr.

He said: In the near future, negotiations will also take place concerning the transit of Iranian trucks through the Soviet Union and the passage of trains through both countries.

He also said: There are no problems concerning the start of the operation of the Zahedan-Eslamabad and Tehran-Ankara railroads, and negotiations are underway to eliminate some minor obstacles.

Referring to the important projects of this ministry, he said: The creation of multipurpose docks in the southern line of the country are at the top of the political priorities of the Ministry of Roads and Transport. In this connection, the building of 17 docks has been approved. So far, the docks in Jasak, Langeh and Ganaveh and Deylam Ports have been completed. The Qeshm and Hormoz docks will also be operational in the future. This trend will continue in other parts of the southern line in order to revitalize the region for residences, jobs and the expansion of sea transport and native fishery.

He also said: With the cooperation of the Bank-e Melli-e Iran, from the beginning of next year, the implemental operations of the Qazvin-Zanjan expressway and the Bafq-Mashhad-Sarakhs railroad project will begin. It is projected that the railroad project will achieve results in less than 10 years. He considered the building of loading docks throughout the country as another step taken by this ministry and expressed hope that the nationwide terminals will effectively coordinate the national transportation system.

Also, by saying that at the present, more than 2,000 km of new railroad lines are under way throughout the country, he said: This year, 110 billion rials will be spent on equipping the transportation system and improving the roads of the country.

In conclusion, he said: For the first time in the country, courses in road building, mechanics, soil, transportation and mechanical expertise have been started, with the cooperation of the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education.

Reconstruction of Schools To Cost 50 Billion Rials

46400046b Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian
22 Nov 88 p 4

[Interview with Habib Elahian, deputy for development of the Ministry of Education and director of the organization for the construction and equipment of schools, by CENTRAL NEWS UNIT in Khorramabad on 21 November 1988]

[Text] A million persons are added annually to the number of students in the country.

Khorramabad. Funds needed for the construction and reconstruction of schools that were damaged as a result of the imposed war have been estimated at 50 billion rials.

Mr Habib Elahian, the deputy for development of the Ministry of Education and director of the organization for the construction and equipment of the schools of the country, who is visiting Khorramabad to examine the problems of educational space in the Province of Lorestan, made the above statement in an interview with the correspondent of the CENTRAL NEWS UNIT yesterday at noon. He said: Considering the population growth, a million persons are added annually to the student population of the country, and every year, disregarding the present shortages, 23,500 new classrooms must be built.

He added: At the present time, considering the many shifts in schools, we are facing a shortage of 5,000-7,000 classrooms throughout the country, and to resolve this problem will require an annual fund of 120 billion rials for investments. Of course, without the participation of the people, the government alone will not be able to carry out this task of building schools.

The director of the construction and equipment of schools in the country, referring to the reconstruction of schools damaged by war, said: For constructing and reconstructing the schools in the war-stricken areas, 50 billion rials have been estimated. For the second half of 1367 [21 March 1988-20 March 1989] and 1368 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990] alone, 6 billion rials have been anticipated.

Commentary on Western Media's 'Faulty' Depiction of IRI

46400053b Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 17 Nov 88 p 18

[Text] In its cable of an interview with our nation's prime minister, the American news agency Associated Press claimed that he said:

The Islamic Republic of Iran is modifying its isolationist position to a more realistic foreign policy.

This news agency has claimed that this was a television interview and that the image was received last Friday in Nicosia. However, the prime minister did not give such an interview, and this agency's report is simply contrived and false. For some time the Western media has been changing the efforts it made over the last decade to paint an ugly picture of the Islamic Revolution of Iran. It has now brought forth a new image of Iran and the Islamic revolution as wanting to set aside its former positions and to seek friendly and untainted cooperation with the West. This effort is definitely being made within the framework of Western ideology, according to which the Iranian revolution, as a hard-line and radical revolution, has followed an inadvisable course and this revolution began its error when it opted for revolutionary change and the export of the revolution.

The Western media is trying to promote the belief that Iran's leaders have concluded that their former radical and revolutionary positions were not in the country's interests, and that they must come out of isolation and join the existing international system the West has designed.

In a CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR article, Shirin Hunter, a fellow at the Georgetown University Center for Strategic Studies, writes:

Iran must acknowledge that it must accept the laws of the current international system, despite all their defects and injustices.

In the same article, she attributes the problems since the revolution and the war to "Islamic Radicalism" and advises the West to encourage Iran to distance itself from this radicalism.

Western propaganda does not conform to what is taking place within Iran. None of Iran's existing problems were created by hard-liners or radicalism. All of the positive achievements of the Islamic revolution are definitely the result of this revolution's stand against the oppressive existing international system. Iran's leaders and the Muslim and revolutionary people of our nation have faith that the policies of the past decade, to the extent that they sprang from the essence of our revolution and orthodoxy, and especially the efforts to export the revolution and make revolutionary changes in the Islamic nations, were the proper course of action, and that this course must continue.

The propaganda policies of the West are more the export of ideology and an intellectual war against anti-Western ideas and policies than a communication of reality. This trend in Iran has shown that the Western media are at the service of the export of the ideology and culture of the capitalist system and its plundering domination. They are now in a propaganda war against the principled and radical dimensions of the Islamic revolution. In connection with the Islamic revolution of Iran, they are trying to discredit every kind of solution and revolutionary change. Some of the efforts of the Western media and press seek to show that Iran wants to rebuild its relations with the imperialist nations of the West. The precise purpose of this effort is to show that the West is invincible. Writing in the Western press generally promotes the idea that Iran is distancing itself from radicalism and that it considers revolutionary policies to be the cause of its past and present problems. It is natural that from the political point of view of the West "revolution" is not the solution to the problems of the Third World and that these nations should solve their problems within the framework of cooperation with the West.

The West, by spreading journalistic assessments and superficiality, whose effects of course cannot be overlooked because of their popular character, has launched a propaganda war aimed at discrediting the World's revolutionary forces.

A very important point that must not be overlooked is that Iran's policies must not go in the direction aimed at by the West's propaganda and ideological war. Iran must repeatedly affirm its loyalty to the values and policies mandated by the Islamic revolution. Although propaganda may have important effects for a time, it certainly cannot change reality in the long run.

PAKISTAN

Sindhi Support of Benazir Seen Harmful to Her Stature

46560009 Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 29 Nov 88 p 5, 7

[Article by Abdul Karim Abid: "Islam and Pakistan, The Muhajir Identity"]

[Excerpts] The People's Party and the Mujahir Quomi Movement's [MQM] 100-percent success in their respective regions of Sind is a victory of two clashing and combating linguistic nationalists. God alone knows better as to what would be its outcome. If we view it in the light of history and Philosophy of politics, nationalism whatever type it may be, leads to a game of fire and blood. It commences with small riots, then charges into bigger uprisings and finally ends with large scale massacre of human beings, which include the women, the old and the children alike. The hatred created by nationalism is absolutely blind. It changes human beings into animals. God willing the linguistic nationalist groups of Sind will not become the victim of this indiscretion, and may the poison of nationalism not become the cause of annihilating humanity and human sentiments. In this regard, the MQM and the People's Party will have to contemplate as to how the poison that has infiltrated the hearts and minds can be removed, and what is the method of making widely known the language and description of brotherhood.

The reason why there is jubilation over the victory of the People's Party in Sind is that the Sindhi-speaking voters have rejected the segregationists and that the party supporting the federation has won. Undoubtedly, this is the apparent aspect of the current situation. But, if you look a little deeper, you will find that Benazir has won as a Sindhi leader and not as a federal one. The sentiments of the Sindhi nationalism have played a major role in her victory. If no sentiments existed, Pir Pagara and Jatui etc., would not have lost in their respective strong-holds. It was the wave of Sindhi nationalism which adopted the form of an arrow, the symbol of the People's Party. Behind it lies a logic, a history and that agony and suffering which the Sindhi people had become victims of. Bhutto's execution, the continuation of martial law in the name of Islam and Pakistan, the environment of oppression and the proceedings to impose artificially their own instrumental and puppet leadership in place of the real leadership of Sind, are all factors which could have only resulted in the fact that the people's reaction should sweep everything away.

Currently, the People's Party of Sind speaks more for the provincial sentiments and emotions rather than for the federal ones. Right now, the leader of the People's Party, Benazir is somewhat pleased and amazed at her success in the interior of Sind as to how she achieved such an enormous victory. After coming out of this world of happiness and bewilderment, however, she would realize that this victory has created a major affliction for her. The Sindhi nationalism would soon raise its head from within the People's Party of Sind, and it would confront her as a challenge for her. When the former vice chancellor of the Sind University, Ghulam Mustafa Shah broke off from G.M. Sayed and joined the People's Party, he was convinced that the People's Party itself would become the true revealing force of the Sindhi nationalism. His belief has proved to be correct. Now, however, what remains to be seen is as to what extent Benazir centered on her Sind platform would compete with this Sindhi nationalism, and how far she would surrender to it. There is no doubt about the fact that like Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, his daughter Benazir, too, is no longer convinced of thinking while enclosed by the sheath of Sind. She maintains both a nationalist and federal viewpoint. However, the Sindhi nationalism would fully endeavor to pull her toward itself. In Sind, like her supporters, her opponents also can try to push her toward this nationalism. But, we would humbly request both Benazir's supporters and opponents to let her be what she is. Especially, it is the duty of the political adversaries of the People's Party that they should behold the interest of the nation and the country, and instead of handing over Benazir to the Sindhi nationalism or tagging her with it, they should keep her above it. Because, if she remains above this nationalism, she certainly would be able to do something to pull Sind out of this swamp. Aiding Benazir in this regard, really would mean assisting the nation and the country. The difficulty in which she has been trapped due to her 100 percent success in the interior of Sind, is a very tough spot. The interior of Sind will create numerous problems for her and she will have to confront very grim sounds. Under such circumstances, shocking and perplexing incidents will happen in the urban areas. It will be then difficult for Benazir to maintain her balance. If she loses her balance, not only will the confrontation of rural and urban Sind surface, but war between Punjab and Sind also will be witnessed. The Sindhi and the Muhajir nationalisms have aroused reactions in Punjab also. Because of this reaction, the ground underneath the feet of the People's Party has started shaking.

The MQM in Hyderabad, Karachi and the Islamic Democratic Unity in Punjab should make a full effort to see that whatever happened in Sind and Hyderabad, and Karachi is over. Now, however, no such move should be made in Punjab so that the demon of linguistic nationalism comes out of the bottle there also. Because the demon that comes out of the bottle, does not go back again. It causes a lot of destruction and havoc. At the time when religion was a great force, these linguistic

nationalisms demolished the Islamic kingdoms and caliphates. In comparison to that, Pakistan is a very small territory. It will not be able to bear the wound of nationalism. Therefore, the case of those who wish to destroy this country is different. They can do what they like. But, anyone whose heart has a tiny desire to keep this country alive, he will have to get rid of the evil spirit of nationalism. Otherwise, this misfortune will terminate the life of this country and nation.

Serious Concern Regarding Economy Expressed

46560006 Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu

2 Nov 88 p 3

[Editorial: "Economic Prosperity—Mahbub-ul Haq Style!"]

[Text] The Minister of Finance and Economic Affairs, Dr Mehboob-ul Haq has said that Pakistan's economic condition is extremely strong and well established. He has also said that the impression that the economy is heading towards destruction, that the newly elected government will have to face some pressure because of the present economic policies, that it will have to reduce the country's currency rate, or that it will have to accept some inappropriate conditions laid by the world financial institutions, is absolutely wrong. It is impossible to examine the statistics used by Dr Sahib to prove his claim.

However, the truth of these claims may be assessed according to the economic condition of the country. Dr Sahib has tried to make us believe that the foreign exchange stocks are equivalent to \$1.3 billion, that the trade deficit was reduced to 12 and ½ percent in the first quarter, that there has been 10 percent increase in the exports and 1 percent reduction in the imports, and that due to the global reduction of petroleum prices, our import bill has also been reduced. But along with that, Dr Sahib has also acknowledged the fact that the administration faced 5.36 million rupees deficit in the investment during the first quarter, that a loan of 1.67 billion rupees was borrowed from the banks and that in various categories, there has been 11 percent reduction in the collection of import duty. Dr Sahib was already an expert of entangling one of the intricacies of statistics. Now, however, with the delightful use of words also he has tried to gain recognition for his stand. On one hand he claims that in 1985 when the World Bank pressured Pakistan to reduce the currency rate, the administration totally rejected the idea, and for 3 years it refused to accept any condition set by them. On the other hand, in order to accept those conditions now, he has made graceful use of words and has said that, "Later on, we began to gradually blend the realistic recommendations into the budget so that they might produce good results. It is not something bad if we stay within our means and do not borrow." Dr Sahib has also claimed that more or less all the political parties have made the current economic policies a part of their manifestos. So much so that a progressive party like the People's Party, too, has

not supported the proposal of the agriculture tax. The fact of the matter is that Doctor Sahib has failed in the enforcement of the agriculture tax.

The implementation of the approved proposal to make the agricultural income a part of the total income of the business and industrial community in order to assess the tax, has also been halted. Similarly, in the current budget, the tax evaders were granted 2 weeks grace period, after which, it was announced that special courts would be formulated to sentence them with 14 years imprisonment with hard labor. All this was dissolved in the air. Due to its lax policy, therefore, the administration has been unable to make the recovery of income tax into something positive. No practical action taken with regard to this part of the budget can be witnessed. The administration's budget duration of 120 days has already expired. Now, only through the decision of the Supreme Court, permission for a few more months expenditure has been granted. Otherwise, the administration had no constitutional or legal course left. If the Supreme Court had not granted the constitutional permission, Pakistan today would have had the worst crisis of the world's economic history. It is unknown, however, for how long we will survive on ad hocism. The former president operated with provisional policies in every field, the damaging result of which is that today there neither exists any political system, nor can we see any structure of the economic order. The misfortunate thing for the country is that for 11 continuous years one administration alone wielded full powers. The power of martial law was behind it as well. But, neither any fundamental and far-reaching changes were enacted upon to end the economic misery, nor the foundation for a strong industrial system was laid. From time to time, when the need arose, the administration was simply content with finding a solution for some critical issue.

However, no one paid any attention to secure a strong industrial structure, keeping in mind the current demands and the future needs. Any claims made by the government spokesmen today have their own place. But the fact is that the future of this nation has been pawned for the foreign interest bearing loans. It has already been admitted that the federal treasury is empty. If people seem to possess abundance of wealth, it is not because of economic prosperity or stability; rather it is the outcome of the profusion of black money. We need not remind you that the government spokesmen themselves including Dr Mahbub-ul Haq have been announcing the theft of 90 billion rupees of tax money. Smuggling is in addition to that. Our shopping centers are full of foreign consumer goods and luxury items. Their import is absolutely illegal and unnecessary. Inflation is rising to a staggering extent. A wage earner, a laborer or a middle-class white-collared worker is incapable of having two full meals a day. It seems that nature has decided to punish us for our short-comings in this very world. During the past 2 years due to no timely or untimely rains, the production of crops has suffered an irreparable loss. This year the flood inflicted the remaining damage.

According to Doctor Sahib, however, only 1 percent of the total national income has been affected by the flood. Whereas, no assessment can be made of the helplessness and emotional anguish of the flood victims. According to the proverb that misfortune never strikes once, the deficiency of law and order has created such an obstacle in the commercial and industrial process that no solution can be perceived in this regard. The incidents of banditry in the inner regions of Sind have been continuing for years. For the past 3 years, however, due to the emergence of linguistic and racial prejudices, Karachi and Hyderabad are repeatedly coming into the fold of murders, devastation and bloodshed. For months, 2 to 3 cities of the beloved country remain under curfew. The life in those cities is bound with fear and uncertainty. Under such circumstances, therefore, it is not difficult to assess the evil plight and helplessness of trade and industry. Despite this fact, the announcement by the administration of good news regarding economic prosperity is ironic. The process of investment in the country is at a standstill. In view of the superiority of a nonpolitical and nondemocratic system for the last 11 years, and the internal and external dangers, neither did the local investors open up their treasury nor did the foreign investors turn towards Pakistan.

With great difficulty, the elections are soon going to be held. We could hope that in case of a peaceful transfer of power, an elected civil government would pay attention towards eliminating the economic decline and shaping a strong and durable structure of economy.

'Colonial Mentality' of Police Subject of Commentary

46560008 Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 29 Nov 88 p 6

[Editorial: "Mentality of the Police"]

[Text] Individual cases of police delinquency were known even in the past, but now a very disturbing fact has come to light: these so-called protectors of public life, honor and property have formed a gang and started to loot the people. Two policemen with their three accomplices have been arrested in the area of Mithadar where they had come with the intent of dacoity. Several weapons and lakhs of rupees' worth of stolen goods have been recovered from their possession. A police head constable named Tajammal Hussain and another policeman had formed a gang of six robbers and went about the city in taxis robbing people. As this gang was roaming the streets, people became suspicious and called the local police. The police arrested them on the spot and confiscated their pistols, revolvers and daggers. One culprit made his escape. The gangsters told the police of their hideouts, where lakhs of rupees worth of stolen goods were recovered. The police are investigating. In all the civilized countries of the world the police are considered to be the protectors of the laws of the land. They follow the law themselves and make the public follow it. If a person finds himself in trouble, and needs any sort of help he goes to the police. The police are always there to

help the citizens. In our country, however, nobody who is in trouble even calls the police, because he knows that the police would only add to his problems. People of Pakistan hate and fear the police because of their insulting behavior. Most of our police stations are hotbeds of corruption. From a traffic constable to a police constable each one of them receives bribes from the drivers of buses, taxis and rikshaws. In return for these bribes these drivers are allowed to break traffic laws and commit other crimes with impunity. In the same way common policemen receive bribes from shopkeepers, handcart vendors and sidewalk vendors. The superiors of the police force know all about it, but they take no steps to stop the evil because the whole department is corrupt. Things are going from bad to worse. When a policeman catches a dacoit or a criminal, he is given awards and is praised, but when a crime is committed in any part of the city or dens of drugs and gambling are uncovered, the local police are not held responsible for neglect of duty. No police officer is suspended or punished. The police continue their nefarious activities because they know they have nothing to fear. The right thing would be to hold the chief of the police responsible for every crime committed in the area under his control.

If he fails to catch a criminal he should not only lose his job, but be punished as well. Everybody knows that the police officers are owners and part-owners of all the transport vehicles working in the city. That is the chief reason why the traffic laws are being broken with impunity. Again the police officers as well as the regular police have a standard of living higher than that of the very rich. They live in big houses, and go about in cars. Their children attend fancy schools. Even the very rich envy the way their wives dress and live. These facts are not hidden from those at the helm. Then why are no steps taken to stop this evil? Why has there not been an investigation about the high income of these policemen? Where are the barriers that stand in the way of such an investigation?

We have inherited our police department from our British rulers. The British gave the police unlimited power to protect their own colonial interests. The duty of the police in those days was to keep the people of the country so frightened and harassed that they could not say a word against their foreign rulers. When Pakistan was created, our own rulers inherited the power as well as the mentality of the British. They did not try to change the attitude of the police towards the public. On the other hand, they wanted the police to go on crushing down the people and thus make it easier for the new rulers to govern the country.

This is how things are today. The police think themselves to be the masters and not the servants of the public. They think they are not accountable to anybody for what they do.

It is essential to change the colonial mentality of the police completely.

Only educated persons should be recruited in the police and they should be given good training. They should be given salaries high enough to meet all their needs. They should be made to realize: if they break the law nothing can save them from dire punishment; that they are servants not masters of the public and that committing a crime as policemen would only add to the toughness of the punishment they would be given. As long as the government does not reform the police on these matters, they will go on harassing people. Instead of catching the robbers they will join the gangs of dacoits and go about

looting the public. The weakness of their will encourages them to go on destroying people's honor, life and property. Those at the helm should make short-term as well as long-term plans for improving this situation. With the help of practical planning they should completely change the character of the police force, making them servants of the people and protectors of the law. As long as the police are not reformed there will be no respect for the law and no peace for the public. We hope our rulers will give serious thought to this problem and take practical steps to solve it.

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